





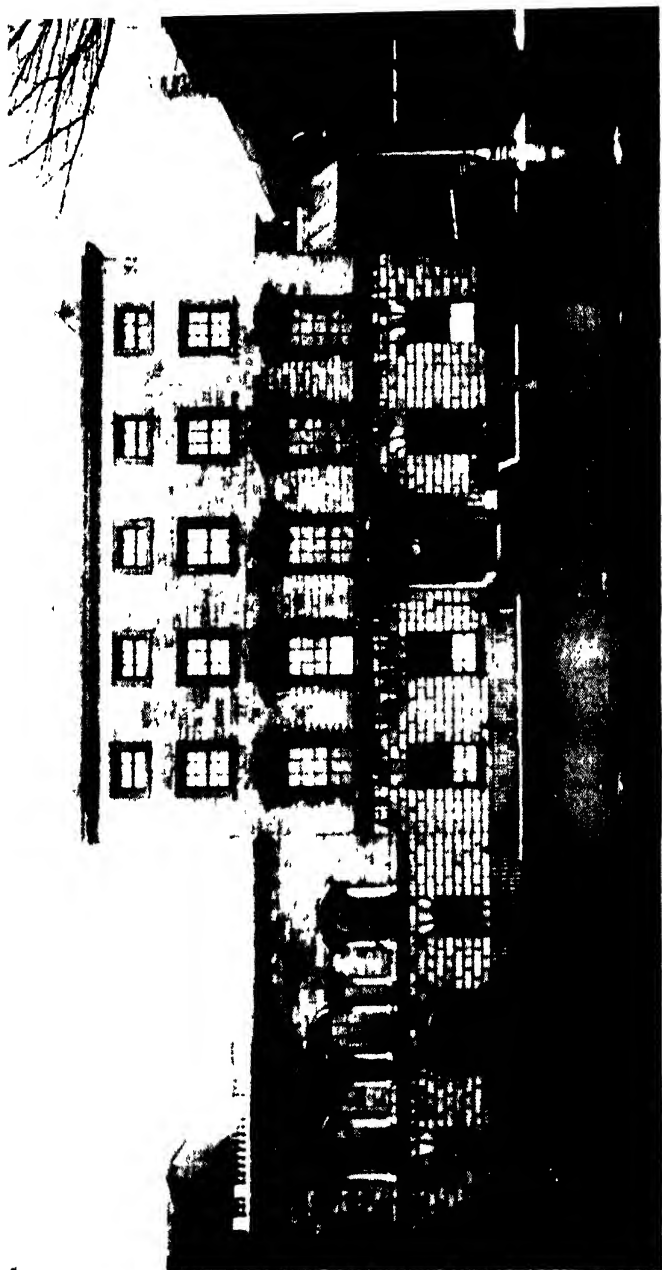




A PAGE  
*of*  
IRISH HISTORY







UNIVERSITY COLLEGE / NORTHERN GREEN

# *A Page of Irish History: Story of University College, Dublin*

1883—1909

*Compiled by*

*FATHERS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS*

. . . FORSAN ET HAEC OLIM MEMINISSE JUVABIT  
. . . . .  
TENDIMUS IN LATIUM, SEDES UBI FATA QUIETAS  
OSTENDUNT . . . . .

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ALUMNIS CARISSIMIS  
ET VITA FUNCTIS  
ET ADHUC VIGENTIBUS  
SALUTEM





## PREFACE

**THE** following record is presented with the hope that it may be acceptable not only to persons immediately connected with the subject, but also to all who are interested in the modern history of Ireland. It will hardly be contested that the establishment of the National University in 1908-9 was a potent factor in the achievement of the existing scheme of Irish self-government. To have an autonomous University for and of the people is in fact to enjoy "Home Rule" in the intellectual order; it involves the emancipation of the national soul. And this work deals with a series of events which led up to the Act of 1908.

In dealing with these events we have enjoyed two great advantages: firstly, we had free access to all the documents, written and printed, which we required; secondly, we were able to draw copiously on the fresh and sparkling recollections of many persons yet living. Would that these were more numerous! Even now less than half of the persons whose names occur in our story are still upon the earth, and able to verify our statements when these are not strictly documented. We trust in any case that our readers will credit us with a desire to register facts without prejudice and without exaggeration. We are persuaded that the College of which we give the history

did a good work and a necessary one for its members and for their country. We believe also that our conviction is shared by those who are best able to judge of the history and the life of the College. As for posterity, it is more likely to be moved by a record of actual happenings than by any amount of *ex parte* argumentation. Yet, if, in spite of our desire to give an impartial account, any unintentional error should have crept into our narrative, we should be grateful for correction from anyone who may have better sources of knowledge than ourselves.

In a case like this frankness of statement will be expected, and is indeed necessary; to glose over defects, whether of systems or of persons, much more to refuse to acknowledge failure where it existed, would stultify the whole undertaking. But with regard to personalities (with which the book is so largely concerned), we make a single reserve. To describe the work done by those who are still where they can read our pages has been a delicate task. To award blame would be offensive, and would be beyond our province; while to give even a moderate share of their due praise might be distasteful to them. With regard to those no longer alive, the case is even worse, because we cannot now ask them to forgive us if we have failed to do them full justice. And we have to consider those who belong to them and cherish their memory. Still, whether we speak or remain silent, we trust to the generosity of our colleagues and friends, at least to believe that we mean them well.

--THE EDITORS,

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## CHAPTER I.

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### PREPARATORY SKETCH.

REV L MCKENNA, M A.

*Appendix*—Recollections of Dr. Joseph D. McFeeley.





## PREPARATORY SKETCH

THE Inauguration of University College in November 1883 was not a new creation; it was a reorganization of the Arts and Science Faculties of the Catholic University founded by Newman just thirty years earlier. Therefore it is appropriate that we commence our study of University College by a short, though not detailed, account of the period preceding that of the new College which it will be our task to describe.

At the time of its inception the memory of the stirring days of 1854 was still fresh in the minds of all but the younger generation of Irishmen. Many of them could remember the great Englishman who had come over to create in their city an English-speaking University, a Catholic counterpart of Oxford. His stooped form and delicately-featured ascetic face had been familiar to Dublin folk as he passed constantly to and fro between his residence in 6 Harcourt Street and the Catholic University buildings on St. Stephen's Green. Whaley's big mansion was humming with activity—but a different one from what had made it famous in the days of the bucks and bloods.<sup>1</sup> In the Georgian

<sup>1</sup> It was a tradition that Buck Whaley had sworn that no Roman Catholic priest should ever darken the doors of his finely built house.

rooms of its lower stories the most renowned Irish Catholic scholars of the day and some distinguished dons from English Universities gave their lectures.

The number of their students (about 100, inclusive of Medicals) does not now appear imposing. Yet it was far higher than that of the Catholics then at Trinity College (who were about nineteen); and, though falling far short of the one hundred and sixty in the three Queen's Colleges, was fairly satisfactory, considering the newness of the venture and the unfavourable circumstances of the moment. Besides these regular University students, there were many others (also about 100), ambitious and talented young men, who attended evening classes organized for their benefit.

But Newman's University was far more than a number of classes; it was meant by him to be a many-branched candle of Catholic truth. Attributing to his professors other functions—and scarcely less important ones—than that of teaching, he called on them from the beginning to give public lectures—there were thirty such in 1858-9—which were invariably well attended by the educated folk of the city. Also, expecting his Professors to help in the creation of a Catholic literature, he provided them with a stimulus and opportunity by founding two journals. In the first of these, *The Catholic University Gazette*, he had to do most of the writing himself; but when the latter, *Atlantis*, appeared in 1858, he had got his professors into writing trim, and it immediately took rank as a first-class journal. Its pages were enriched by the writings of men like

John O'Hagan, Eugene O'Curry, W. H. Scott, Thomas Arnold, Denis Florence McCarthy, Aubrey de Vere, Canon Morris, Le Page Renouf, John H. Pollen; while W. K. Sullivan, Thomas Hayden, M.D., Robert Lyons, M.D., Henry Hennessy,<sup>2</sup> and many others contributed to it the results of their scientific researches.

There was a general stirring of interest in things academic among the Catholic professional men of the city, many of whom were constant visitors at Newman's house, for he was fond of having them to dinner in the evenings to discuss with them his plans, prospects, and difficulties. Much public attention was also attracted by the frequent functions, not merely the religious, but also the academic ones (such as inaugural meetings, prize-givings, etc.) held in the lovely Byzantine church with which Newman had enriched Dublin. Here ceremonies were carried out with a dignified display. Senators, Professors, and other officials in coloured robes seated on a raised dais around the Rector's chair in the sanctuary, the students ranged along the sides. Nor was it in the capital alone that the University was a subject of interest, but in every hamlet of the country where the priests spoke of it to their congregations and received the mites joyfully given—for the Irish people had not yet forgotten their traditional love of learning.

But, even during these first few years of enthusiasm, there were vague rumours aloof of trouble impending. Most of the aristocratic—or would-be aristocratic—

<sup>2</sup> All the above were in some sense on the teaching staff of the University.

Irish Catholics were holding aloof; English Catholics were showing little inclination to prefer Dublin to Oxford and Cambridge; some of the Bishops were thought to be lukewarm for the University, while a few of them were said to be discontented at the method of its administration; there was even some talk of a fresh appeal to Rome for a more indulgent view of the Queen's Colleges.

This disquietude was increased by the news in October 1857 that Newman, though still remaining Rector, would cease to live in Dublin; and, when in the November of the following year his resignation was publicly announced, it was generally taken for granted that the whole enterprise had collapsed, or, at least, would be allowed to die a natural death. Though classes, collections, and even ceremonial functions continued as usual after Newman's departure, this impression persisted; nay, was hardening into a certainty owing to the silence of the Bishops. Nor was the impression far amiss of the truth; the Bishops were seriously thinking of dissolving the University, and had asked that a Committee of its Senate should advise them on the question. Then suddenly (April 1861) it was announced that the position of Rector, vacant now for three and a half years, had been filled. Evidently the University was to be continued, and vigorously. This was inferred from the character of the man chosen to rule it. Dr. Bartholomew Woodlock, though a man of studious and retiring character, very gentle—almost timid—in manner, had given proof of extraordinary zeal, tactful ingenuity, and firmness of purpose. He

had founded (with Father Hand) the Missionary College of All Hallows in 1842, and had been its President since 1854.<sup>3</sup>

A reinvigoration of the University made itself apparent almost immediately. In the second year of the new *régime* Dublin was the scene of what was taken by the whole world as an emphatic declaration on the part of the Episcopacy and the people of Ireland that they were determined, cost what it might, to have a great Catholic University. Ground, some thirty acres, had been bought at Drumcondra, and plans of imposing University buildings had been approved. On the 20th July, 1862, took place the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone. After a solemn religious function in the Pro-Cathedral, a monster procession of some 200,000 people—one of the biggest which had ever been seen in Dublin—marched to Drumcondra, where the stone was laid with all ceremony, and speeches were delivered by many church dignitaries, Irish and foreign, and distinguished lay-folk. This new will to live and prosper lasted for a couple of years. There was noticeable a renewal of bustle and stir in St. Stephen's Green and in the Collegiate Houses, and the number of students increased sensibly.

But alas! only for a couple of years was the spurt kept up. Nothing was done to follow up the bold gesture of 1862; the Drumcondra buildings never rose beyond their foundations; the Collegiate Houses, four

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Bishop Woodlock's abilities and merits have been overshadowed by the fact that he followed Newman and that he failed. But, for the matter of that, Newman was not triumphantly successful either.

of which had been in existence, closed down one by one; the evening classes were discontinued; the students' numbers fell off; though numerous matriculations in all the important secondary schools made a brave show on paper and were much dwelt on in the annual public pronouncements, they never deceived anyone into thinking that the University was growing. This decline continued steadily during the years from 1865 to 1873. That breath was being kept in the University by the Bishops chiefly with a view to negotiating with the Government became plain from the constant efforts made by them in these years to get an endowment and charter—or even a charter without endowment. For this purpose negotiation followed negotiation without end. Lord Palmerston's Cabinet in 1865 gave fair assurances of help and then withdrew them; in 1867 Lord Derby's Government improved on his predecessor's promises, and then inflicted still bitterer disappointment. When finally Gladstone's Bill, to which all Catholic Ireland had looked forward, was thrown out, something like despair of ever getting anything from England was almost universal.

A general view of this period 1863-1873 shows us the Rector, Dr. Woodlock, keenly alive to the difficulties confronting the University, but persistently holding to the conviction that courage and energy could still win success. Eminent professors should, he held, be appointed and generously paid; all the Faculties should be set up in full working order; suitable buildings, however costly, should be erected; academic displays should be frequent and imposing; scholarships should

be founded on a generous scale; the Religious teaching congregations should be asked to establish Collegiate Houses in Dublin, and encouraged to do so by being given posts of trust and dignity in the University; all this should be done or else the University should be closed down. Money, and much of it, would no doubt be required, but could be got if the Bishops used their influence on the priests, and if the Governing Body were made more widely representative by an admixture of lay-folk.

No man can now decide whether the Rector's plans were feasible or not. Perhaps some of them were in advance of the times; certainly most of them seemed to the Bishops too expensive for a poverty-stricken country, and too uncertain of success. Consequently they were for the most part rejected. Some fresh efforts were made to increase the collections; a few developments were timidly essayed; but none of the new principles suggested, such as the incorporation of the teaching Orders, and the association of laymen in the financial administration, were ventured on.<sup>4</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Of the Catholic University during the years 1874 to 1878 the picture we call up is still more depressing than that of the previous years. Of the Bishops'

<sup>4</sup> At various times subsequently innuendoes—and even plain charges—of maladministration were made. One feels glad that this uninformed malignity was left unnoticed by the Bishops. To expose it would have been easy. The ledger, kept from the beginning till December, 1873, by the painstaking and conscientious secretary, Mr. Scratton, is yet extant, showing the amounts drawn at intervals as required from the bank, and every detail of their expenditure. A tale of economy, careful and even excessive, is told by this ledger and the other account books (*e.g.*, of St. Patrick's House).



houses on St. Stephen's Green, only the two large ones, Nos. 85 and 86 were now in use; the others were occupied by tenants, 84 by Mr. Scratton, 87 by Mr. John Campbell. The upper stories of No. 86 (entered, not by the 86 hall-door, but through that of 87, and a passage leading over the church-entrance) constituted what was called St. Patrick's House. Here lived the intern—now practically the only—students of the University. Two Jesuit Fathers were in charge of them. These had been in October 1873 invited to take care of the discipline and domestic arrangements of the house. Their Superiors were from 1873 to 1876 Father Thomas Keating; from 1876 to 1879 Father James Tuite; and from 1879 Father Robert Carbery. Besides these, Father John Bannon acted as Minister and Spiritual Director for the first year; he was then replaced by Father Matthew Russell, who in addition to his other work edited the *Irish Monthly*, founded by him in the preceding year (1873).

The students in residence numbered on an average about twenty. One-third of them were on full burses, another third on partial ones, the rest paying full pension. Each forenoon they descended to the Aula Maxima and the lower rooms of 85 and 86 to attend their classes, now given somewhat intermittently. Of most of their Professors more ample notices will be given later on. Here it suffices to say that Ornsby, Robertson, and Stewart were past their prime—Stewart so far past it that he had to be supported on a student's arm up the doorsteps and into his lecture-chair. Of James W. Kavanagh, who had spent his strength in valiant service for the University, a word

is here in place. A native of Co. Carlow, he had in his early years attained the position of Head Inspector under the National Board. In 1858 he protested officially against some proselytism which was being carried on in the schools, and when the Board refused to rectify matters, resigned his position for conscience' sake. A book, *The Catholic Case Stated*, in which he substantiated his charges, had a great vogue, and—together with many newspaper articles of his—formed a chief arsenal for the Catholic writers and speakers in the Disestablishment campaign. On his resignation from the National System he was immediately engaged by Newman. Besides his ordinary work he took the chief part in organising and carrying on the evening classes of the University. Of Dr. Dunne, too, a short word may be said. At the age of twenty-three he had taken his Doctorate in both Theology and Philosophy in Rome; but, relinquishing his intention of proceeding to Orders, he had come back to Ireland, where Newman immediately welcomed his services. The two chairs (Law and Logic) which he occupied at the time of which we now speak were practically sinecures. John Campbell and W. K. Sullivan, though nominally Professors of the College, had no pupils there. Neither really had Dr. Molloy, who was a brilliant lecturer, but hardly suited for the drudgery of preparing young men to deal with examination papers. His eloquent discourses, illustrated with showy experiments, were a great attraction for the general public, but were attended by hardly any of the students. Casey—of whom we shall have much

to say later on—was the only really good work-a-day teacher in the house.

Such was the staff. Its brilliancy was for the most part a thing of the past; it was quite unsuited to stand the hard work required, or to infuse the energy which alone could have made the College a success. Besides, even if its members were younger, great energy on their part would have been heroic, for their salaries, from 1875 on, were only partly or irregularly paid owing to the steady decrease of the collections. This state of affairs during these final years of the old system was pretty widely known, and formed the subject of much discontented comment—and not alone nor mostly among the laity. That the College in St. Stephen's Green was quite ineffective in keeping Catholics out of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges was becoming plain. It seemed to have ceased to perform any useful purpose. Why then keep it in existence—and at such heavy expense, some £4,000 a year or more?

Yet, to close it down was a step from which the Bishops still shrank. As long as it existed—even in a moribund condition—it was a living proof, more efficient than any mere words could have been, that Catholics earnestly desired a Catholic University. Moreover, the Tory Government kept constantly dangling before the Irish public vague promises of a settlement—even after they had rejected Butt's Bill of 1876.

\* \* \* \* \*

While the Bishops hoped that a settlement would be forwarded by keeping the University College alive,

another plan for compassing the same object, but one based on an entirely different principle, had been conceived by Father William Delany, Rector (since 1870) of Tullabeg College in King's County. He, like all the heads of the Irish Secondary Schools, had allowed his College to be affiliated to the Catholic University, and had been sending his pupils in for its Matriculation examinations. He soon, however, realised that this matriculation was of a very low standard, carried with it no honour or prospect of material advantage, and was of no avail in diverting students from non-Catholic institutions. Consequently he asked leave (1875) of his Superiors to present his boys at the London University examinations. English Catholic schools and a few Irish Protestant ones had been doing so for a long time, but only one Irish Catholic School, Carlow Seminary, had hitherto done so—and only in a fitful manner, apparently not in pursuance of any national purpose. It is very important to realize that, even at this date, Father Delany's object went far beyond the individual success of his students. He foresaw that if a considerable number of Irish boys were to win laurels in the hard-contested struggles of the London University, this would have a powerful effect on the English Government and people, emphasising the serious desire of Irish Catholics for a higher education, their ability to profit by it, and their unjust deprivation of proper facilities for obtaining it in their own country. His success was immediate and striking. In the very first year, 1876, the six candidates whom he presented all passed, two of them winning high places in

**Honours.** In his second year his candidates were still more successful. Three of them got Matriculation, two of them in First Division, another in Second; while at the first B.A. three passed in the First Division, one of them getting First Classical Honours, another (Mr. Joseph McGrath) getting Mathematical Honours. At the subsequent examinations (from 1879 to 1881) these successful results were greatly improved on; and, partly because of their unprecedented character and partly owing to their intrinsic merit, attracted much attention in Irish educational circles, and even in England.

Among other people the Rector of the Catholic University was deeply impressed by them; and, as he now despaired of rousing the Catholic University College from its torpor, he proposed to the Bishops that it should be handed over to the Jesuit Order. The proposal, made early in 1879 to Father James Tuite, the Provincial, was a very comprehensive one. Not merely the domestic care and discipline of the intern students (which were already in their hands) but the complete responsibility for the studies of all the students would be entrusted to them. They could, if they thought well, begin by preparing students for the Intermediate Examinations (the first of which was to be held that year) as well as for the Catholic University courses; they would thus be better able to make the latter courses successful. They would have the services of the existing staff, but could add to it as they might think fit. All the University buildings—including the Library—would be entrusted to them free of rent; and all expenses of staff, equipment, and

upkeep, in so far as these would not be covered by students' fees, would be a charge on the University funds. Even the University Church was to be placed at their disposal, according to this scheme—which was far in advance of what was finally granted, as we shall see later. Yet it appears very doubtful whether the Jesuit authorities at this date thought it possible for them to accept even such a flattering proposal. Father James Tuite was a man of cautious character (to say the very least); and, as far as we can now discover, he and his Consultors were in no disposition to undertake what was really a gigantic task. Their willingness or unwillingness, however, was of little matter; the proposal was either formally withdrawn, or at all events never reached a stage of serious negotiation. Why this was so can only be conjectured. The circumstances of the time, however, suggest some probable reasons. A new hope of a settlement of the University question by Westminster was in the air. Several members of the Government had, during 1878, declared themselves desirous of it; and that there was something in contemplation was shown by the declaration of the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Lieutenant, in 1879 at Drogheda, that a Bill would be brought in soon—although this promise was repudiated by Disraeli immediately. For another reason, too, the Bishops may have considered that a little longer delay in the transfer of University College might be advantageous. The Intermediate Act which had been passed in August 1878 seemed to promise a solution of the problem how to give money to Catholic Secondary Schools without infringing the sacrosanct

undenominational principle. Why, it was naturally asked, could not the same solution be applied to higher education as well? That the Bishops' hopes lay in this direction may be inferred from their almost universal approval of the Bill which The O'Connor Don—at the suggestion and with the aid of Father Delany—was drafting in March and April, and which was simply an application of the principle underlying the Intermediate Act.

Though this Bill was not accepted by the Government, the Bishops had not long to wait; the Royal University Act of August 1879 solved for them the problem of the future of University College. But we reserve this stage of our history for a separate chapter.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

### *Recollections of Dr. Joseph D. McFeeley.*

My connection with the old Catholic University began in the Session of 1878-9, about four years before University College was founded. I had entered previously at Trinity College, intending to graduate there in the Medical Faculty; but I left it owing to strong pressure brought upon me by my parish priest in Derry City, in whom I had much trust. I remember the first surprise I got as a Resident at St. Stephen's Green was to find the doors shut and barred to us after 7 p.m. if we wished to go out in the evening. After that hour we had to ask and obtain permission to go out, and deposit two shillings and sixpence, which was forfeited if we did not return at 10 p.m. In Trinity one could go out when one wished till eleven at night.

The late Dr. Woodlock, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, was then Rector; Dean Neville succeeded him. Rev. Dr. Molloy was Vice-Rector and Professor of Physics; Father Tuite, S.J., and Father Matthew Russell, S.J., were in charge of the students at No. 86. Soon after my entrance, Father Carbery, S.J., succeeded Father Tuite.

The Professors were: *Mathematics*: John Casey and James W. Kavanagh; and Gerald Griffin acted as Junior Assistant. *Classics*: Professors Ornsby and Stewart. *French and German*: The Abbé Polin; and Mr. O'Carroll, now Dr. Joseph O'Carroll, had a Junior Chair for *English Literature*. Mr. Scratton, Secretary



of the University, and Mr. Campbell, occupied houses belonging to the University. *Religious Instruction:* Dr. Dunne and Father Tuite (but not his successor, Father Carbery) taught this subject.

Two of the Professors, Ornsby and Stewart (with the two others mentioned above) came over with Newman at the foundation. They were converts like Newman (and probably with him) who

“Followed the advice of the Oxford Don  
‘*Turn to the right and go straight on.*’”

They were not very distinguished; Ornsby was a good Classicist, reticent, austere, and (as we used to express it) “felt lost for the want of work.” John Casey was admittedly the finest mathematician of his day in Ireland; he recognised only Professor Salmon, T.C.D., as his equal. The Catholic University was described in my day, rather humorously, in terms of the theological virtues, as

“An Institution of *Hope*,  
Founded on *Faith*  
On the basis of *Charity.*”

The number of Intern Students when I entered did not exceed a dozen. I can recall the names of some: John J. Hayden, son of Dr. Hayden, Professor of Medicine at the Medical School, and brother to Miss Mary Hayden; E. Hughes Dowling; Chas. McNeill (brother to John and James McNeill the present Governor-General); Rob. O'Reilly; J. Coffey, Martin Fenelly.

Regarding religious organization, there were no Sodalties, Conferences, or Retreats as far as we

Residents were concerned. There was, however, a branch of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. Meetings were held next door at the University Church. About half the students were members; membership, of course, was voluntary. Mr. McCann, a stockbroker, was President; Professor Casey, Dean Neville, and Father Carbery (as Spiritual Director) belonged to it. It did a lot of good work outside.

During my time the University Chapel, founded and built by Newman, the first Rector, was absorbed or purchased by St. Kevin's Church, South Circular Road; but certain sittings were retained. Daily Mass was said in the little chapel on the first floor of the College, by the Dean or Sub-Dean. I recall a little incident which, in passing, shows what our devotional fervour then was like. Father Carbery was celebrating Mass one morning, and on turning round at the "*Orate Fratres*," saw two Residents, one on each side of myself, having a fight over a prayer book. After breakfast I was sent for and asked the names of those responsible. As I respectfully declined to give them, I was told that, in the circumstances, I must be considered a participator. I answered that he was welcome to his opinion, but I refused to be an informer; and I was told that I might leave the house. As I was packing up my few spare things—my last shilling had been reduced to coppers—I was again sent for and asked if I persisted in my attitude. I replied that I saw no reason to change it. After some discussion Father Carbery told me that the ban of expulsion was withdrawn and I was thoroughly exonerated. This little event was the foundation of one of the

greatest and most valued friendships I ever made, a friendship that lasted unchanged till the death of the Jesuit Father.

Practically the only vital society in my time was the "Literary and Historical." It—and, of course, the University—could boast of such Irishmen then as John and Harry Dillon, George Fottrell, Doctor Michael Cox, Ignatius O'Brien, and my dearly lamented friend and former school-companion, the late Cardinal O'Donnell. Most of these were Auditors in their years. I was fated to be the last Auditor in the old Catholic University, and in this connection an event occurred that may be of interest to recount, as it bears, not only on the record of the Society and the College, but also on the history of the period.

During the early days of the Parnell Movement, some half dozen Irish members were expelled from the British Parliament for "obstruction." Some short time after this, in arranging the programme for debates, we chose as one of the subjects: "That the expulsion of the Irish members from the House of Commons was illegal and unconstitutional." The notice was put up, in the usual way, in the glass case in the hall. Someone drew the Rector, Dean Neville's attention to it; I was sent for and told that this subject would not be allowed for debate, "as things were in a transition stage, and any show of political bias might be prejudicial to any Act they would be likely to get." As the debate was advertised in the daily Press, and as John Dillon was to take the Chair, I went at once to his house in North Great George's Street to discuss the matter with him. He said little, I remember, and

merely shook his head. On the evening that the debate was to take place, the members of the Society were refused the use of the Aula Maxima or any other room in the College; and the main entrance was closed and bolted. For over half-an-hour before the time notified for the debate, such crowds continued to come that the pathway from the Harcourt Street corner of the Green was packed. Many of the old members, including the ex-Auditors of the Society, demanded admission, or at least a room to hold an ordinary business meeting. John Dillon did not turn up, though his brother Harry did; and the public remained outside for a long time and showed marked discontent. A room to hold a business meeting was eventually granted, and at it a series of resolutions was framed. Being Chairman, I declined to put them to the meeting *in globo* till the Rector or Vice-Rector could see them before publication. The Rector was out; and when three of us called at his room, the Vice-Rector declined to interfere; so the secretary and I were instructed to have them published in the *Freeman*. After this, permission to hold further debates was refused, notwithstanding our protest, and also despite the fact that, when subscriptions were being collected for building the Aula Maxima, the plea put forward was that it was mainly for the use of our Society. The more advanced spirits of the Society refused to take the snub lying down; and, chiefly through the instrumentality of Robert J. O'Reilly, a "Young Ireland Society," not quite on the same lines as ours, was started in York Street. I resisted all the pressure brought on me to join it, as I felt it

wanted much of the self-sacrificing spirit of O'Connell's day, and it did not seem to have a practical future, politically. But it is of interest to note that, in the matter of interest in Irish and some other points, it anticipated, thanks to the influence of Dr. Sigerson, the aims of the Gaelic League, not founded till years after. It had not been long in existence when it was threatened by the Government with prosecution; but it survived longer in some provincial towns and rural areas than in Dublin.

Some months after the suppression of the Debating Society, Dr. Molloy, the Vice-Rector, offered to give a public demonstration of electricity as a lighting agent. As only the *Freeman's Journal* office, and perhaps one or two other places in a much smaller way, had used electricity for that purpose until then, Dr. Molloy's was probably the first scientific exhibition and demonstration of electric lighting in Dublin. With a rather unconscious touch of humour—or irony—Mr. George Fottrell, Chairman of the Dublin Gas Company, was asked to preside. As the lecture was meant to help in the restoration of the temporarily defunct Literary and Historical Society, I as auditor had to move a vote of thanks; I remember stating that electricity was likely soon to be used for power and heating as well as for lighting, and I could not help suggesting to Mr. Fottrell that he was probably presiding at his own funeral! Before the lecture was over, the temperature of the room became sweltering. The milling of the platinum filament was so expensive then that electric lighting had made little progress. It had lain dormant since Faraday's days, close on

fifty years before, without any practical attempt being made at its development, and might have remained so fifty more years were it not for Edison's equally useful discovery of the vacuum lamp.

Regarding the College curriculum, two years was the allotted space of Residence at the Green in my time. Anyone who passed the "Scholarship" examination got free medical lectures at the Medical School in Cecilia Street.

Father Matthew Russell was in charge of the Residents. He was then, *inter alia*, editor of the *Irish Monthly*, and it was he who fostered Katharine Tynan's early literary career, as most of her first publications appeared in the *Monthly*. We knew him as "Father Matt," and one of his domestic duties at the College was to go round every room at night to see that all lights were out at 10 p.m., and that everybody was in his own room. John Hayden, whose room adjoined mine, was in the habit of coming into my room every night to submit to me, a rather incompetent critic, his effusions, which were chiefly poetical. When Father Matt's step was heard, John was in the habit of hiding under the bed or in my rather empty wardrobe. One night the wardrobe crashed to the floor; and Father Matt, who was almost blind, had to help me to extricate him. John Hayden was one of the most unselfish and honourable types I have ever had the good fortune to meet in life. As ex-Secretary of the Literary and Historical Society, and for intellectual reasons he should have been Auditor in his year, but he voluntarily forwent his right in my favour. He had an encyclopaedic mind,

full of all sorts of knowledge. He was a confirmed book-worm, and a more confirmed book-collector. His quarters in London were stored with books—the older the better for him—from floor to ceiling, and any he could not store he got stored for him by booksellers. Once I was to meet him in Paris. I missed him, but I successfully traced him to the old bookshops on the Quais. He published two volumes, the second a volume of poems, *Clock Sonnets*, containing some very pretty lyrics, a presentation copy of which I still possess. He was in my mind a reincarnation of “Un philosophe sous les toits.” His father, Dr. Hayden, was the foremost Catholic physician of his day, and his book on the heart was a classic. John was a confirmed dreamer and idealist, and this temperament stood in the way of his intellect realising itself as fully as it did with his distinguished sister, Miss Mary Hayden.

Robert O'Reilly was clever for his years, Irish in every sense of the word, enthusiastic, impressionable, and largely influenced by his surroundings and associates. He wrote some rather pretty poems, and qualified in medicine, as did most of those in my time at the Catholic University. Some time after I learnt he married a Jewess. His married life was a short and unhappy one. He died young, but made a successful fight, Dr. O'Carroll told me, to keep his child or children reared and trained as Catholics. J. Coffey of Mullingar was another of our minor poets, whose topical verses beginning with,

“The popping of duds is so common

That we'll all have to go clothingless soon”

was a sort of House Song, showing that students were the same in our days as they were always.

Dr. J. Maguire I met again when I came to practise in Liverpool. He was in medical practice there, and was elected on the City Council. Patrick, Cardinal O'Donnell, who was a class-fellow of mine in Letterkenny Seminary, spent two years at the Catholic University; and, though these years preceded mine, the associations of this time were a further link in a valued friendship of after years.

The Catholic University, in my opinion, was never taken up by the Catholics with the enthusiasm that might have been expected. There were many reasons for this, mainly economic: the Scotch licensing faculties in medicine, and those of the Queen's Colleges in medicine and other faculties were severe competitors at a time when the prospects of Catholics in the professions were far different from the days after the passing of the Royal University Act. Besides, there was always the feeling amongst many, particularly in the years of acute political life, that with all his scholastic attainments, and profound intellect and reputation, Newman, its founder, who loved culture for the sake of culture, was not the right man. Yet it served a useful, noble, and successful purpose that only we, who can look back on it after half-a-century with happiness and pride, can appreciate.





## CHAPTER II.



THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY.



## THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY.

THE fortunes of University College were of necessity closely connected with those of the Royal University of Ireland to which it was affiliated. We think it therefore necessary not merely to describe the constitution and character of that University, but also to give some details of the circumstances under which it came into being, and which profoundly affected its powers and its career. The proceedings connected with the foundation were not merely abnormal but very complicated, and so far as appearances went, fortuitous. They were the immediate result of action taken by the Irish Members of the House of Commons. On May 15th, 1879, The O'Connor Don brought in his Bill (to which reference has been made) for creating a new University for the Catholics of Ireland.

About a year previous to this date, that is, on June 21, 1878, the Lord Chancellor of the Conservative Government, Lord Cairns, when introducing the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Bill, had distinctly stated that one of the reasons why the Government brought it in was that they regarded it as a preliminary step towards dealing with University Education. To place the latter upon "the best possible footing, and to extend it when necessary, was a matter about which every person of all parties was

anxious, but," he added, "in order to do this all who have thought upon the subject are met with this difficulty—the necessity of obtaining a supply of students for the Universities of Ireland."

In introducing his Bill The O'Connor Don laid stress upon the above statement, declaring that the Intermediate Act could not be left to stand alone, for now the demand for University Education would be immensely increased and the feeling of injustice would be intensified. He added that the new Act had turned out a great success, and that a large number of candidates for the Senior Grade had applied, and would be turned out upon the world, so that in a couple of months the necessity for University Education would become painfully evident. Besides, he stated, a belief had been growing, especially through the reports of public journals known to be in the confidence of the Ministry, and owing to rumours of semi-official negotiations with persons representative of Catholic interests, that the Government intended to deal with the subject. Yet since the commencement of the Session there had been an apparent change of front. No mention had been made of the subject in the enumeration of the Government proposals, and in February it had been authoritatively announced that the Government would not deal with the question.

Under these circumstances the proposer of the Bill had been persuaded to take up the matter in the absence of his leader, Mr. Isaac Butt, who was prevented by serious illness. It had been decided to proceed by way of a Bill rather than a Resolution,

in order to show, not merely a desire to settle the question, but also a belief that it could be settled in the present Session. The proposal was to leave the existing Universities untouched, and to create a new one that would be suitable for Roman Catholics. The plan was not merely his own personal proposal: it had been arrived at after consultation with friends on both sides of the House holding the most opposite political opinions. It was also of the nature of a compromise, and was not to be taken as containing all that Roman Catholics believed they were justly entitled to. There would be four faculties proposed, Arts, Medicine, Law, and Engineering. For the different examinations money-rewards would be offered exactly on the lines of the Intermediate Act, including Exhibitions, Scholarships, Fellowships, and other prizes. Again following the Intermediate system, Results Fees would be awarded in respect of the examinations to certain affiliated Colleges, which must be of University type, i.e., containing a minimum number of twenty students over the age of eighteen following courses prescribed by the Senate.

Salaries might also be paid, if the Senate should so decide, to Professors or Lecturers of the affiliated Colleges; and sums could be applied to the foundation or maintenance of laboratories, museums, or libraries of the same Colleges. In applying funds for the purpose of the Act, only secular instruction was to be taken into account; no money was to be paid in respect of religious teaching of any sort. Thus care was taken to avoid the charge of demanding indirect endowment from public money for denominational

education. To finance the scheme a capital sum of a million and a half was suggested which it was estimated would yield an income about equal to that of the Queen's University with its Colleges.

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A strong agitation was started in Ireland in favour of this Bill. The Bishops did not take any corporate action, but it was pretty clear that they wished it to pass, and Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Moran wrote a letter from Rome in which, premising that from some points of view the Bill was inadequate, he added: "I think that by it they [the Government] will have done a great deal to conciliate our warm-hearted Catholic people, and that this new University will prove a real boon to our people."

The laity were more explicit. A strong committee was formed in Dublin which issued a declaration for signature by laymen only, favouring the Bill and urging the Government to pass it into law during the Session. The Dublin Corporation passed a strong resolution in its favour, and sent a petition with the Seal of the City on it to the House of Commons, to be presented there according to ancient right by the Lord Mayor in person. This was followed by similar action of most of the Corporations of Southern Ireland and of the Boards of Guardians in the country. The fact that the Presbyterians of the North were making strong efforts to wreck the Bill, and sending deputations to Westminster to argue against it, only added zeal to its Catholic supporters.

It was evident that in Ireland great hopes of the passing of the Bill had been formed, as there were

many reasons for thinking that in the end the Government would support it. They had given facilities for its introduction, and had not so far pronounced against it. Their time was running out; a General Election was at hand; and, although they were in fear of opposition in the North of Ireland and among extreme Protestants in England, yet it would not serve them to stir up strong resentment among the Catholics by dashing the hopes which their own action had helped to raise. Again, if they could settle this long outstanding controversy, it would be an achievement to their credit, for it so happened that (with the exception of a law passed regarding Army Discipline) their six years of power had not effected much important legislation.

The debate on the Bill came on in the month of May, when the last session of Parliament was verging to its close and public business was getting congested. This gave the Government some excuse for wrecking the Bill; and they showed signs of doing so, and of rebutting the argument from the Intermediate Act by the contention that more time was required to test its working, as it had been scarcely a year upon the statute book.

Mr. Richard O'Shaughnessy, M.P. for the City of Limerick, who was present at the debate, wrote, three years later:

At the end of the first day's debate, the fate of the Bill was sealed; it had passed whither the creations of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Butt had gone before. The ministerial speaker (Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer) had condemned it as savouring of denominational endowment. He admitted that reform



was necessary, but sat down without holding out any hope of it. It is plain to anyone reading the speeches that the Bill was dead, and that the real question was: Could any other solution be suggested? No one defended the suggestion of filtering the stream of endowment into petty rills to feed an undergrowth of institutions with twenty students apiece.<sup>1</sup>

Outside Parliament, according to the *Times* of June 26, "opinion in favour of the Bill had been growing in strength for the past few days," and "this question is now the standing difficulty in our dealings with Ireland." Even in the reception given to the Bill by the House there was one staggering fact. The leaders of the Opposition, known to be so opposed to denominational endowment, spoke in its favour. On May 21, Mr. Robert Lowe, an ex-Cabinet Minister, spoke eloquently on its behalf—even apologising for speaking with less calmness and reserve than he had intended. His concluding words were: "I feel very warmly on this subject—and I can imagine nothing in the world so calculated to unite us all together as to take this subject into very serious consideration, not allowing ourselves to be turned aside by details, but being determined that nothing shall be wanting on our part to do equal justice to all her Majesty's subjects."

Again Mr. W. E. Forster (so soon destined to be the ill-starred Chief Secretary for Ireland) intervened on the resumption of the Debate for Second Reading on June 25. In a long speech he argued with considerable force that the Government could not plead that it would be a breach of faith this year to

<sup>1</sup> In the *Month* for April, 1882. Vol. XLIV. p. 32.

devote the Irish Church Surplus on the same principles on which they had devoted it last year. "I am not sure that this plan is the best: it might have been better to affiliate the Roman Colleges to the Queen's University. But without the same State aid to the Roman Catholic College which is given to the Queen's Colleges such a proposal would be a mockery."<sup>2</sup> He also hinted that, if the Government would take the matter up it would be the best course; but he added, "I fear they will not." Then he said: "I shall feel it my duty to vote for the Second Reading, but in doing so I vote for the principle of the Bill only."

As soon as Forster sat down he was disillusioned as to the attitude of the Government. Mr. Cross (Home Secretary) discussed the matter fully, giving reasons why they could not accept the Bill, chiefly because it involved a practical endowment of religion; and then he added, to the great surprise of the House, that the following day in the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor (Cairns) would introduce a Government Bill dealing with the Irish University question. This announcement fell like a bombshell. A special reason was added, namely, that on the very day specified a Charter was to be promised to a new University for the North of England (the Victoria University, Manchester),<sup>3</sup> and that under these circum-

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the implied suggestion of Mr. Forster comes very near the solution actually adopted in Mr. Birrell's scheme of 1908.

<sup>3</sup> It is very curious to note how closely the foundation of the Royal University of Ireland synchronized with the new University movement in Great Britain. Manchester was the earliest provincial foundation: there are now, including London, ten modern Universities in England and Wales.

stances the Government had decided to do something similar for Ireland.

The opposition was puzzled. Sir William Harcourt bitterly complained that by their action the Government had trifled with the House and wasted its time, and that either sagacity or their candour had been at fault. But soon the question arose: Did they really mean business, or was the whole thing a pretence? This doubt was, however, shortly removed in the House by the Prime Minister (Lord Beaconsfield), who stated in answer to the leader of the Opposition that the Government were in earnest, and were going to make a *bona fide* attempt to get their Bill through both Houses within the Session.

The *Times* on the following morning, June 26, remarked of the dramatic incident: "A wholly new situation had been suddenly created, and the Irish University question had entered upon the most important step it had reached since the failure of Mr. Gladstone's Bill." The writer added that of course The O'Connor Don's Bill was extinguished.<sup>4</sup>

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But when the Bill was actually brought in by Lord Cairns upon June 30, it gave a worse shock to the public than its announcement had given to the House of Commons. In its original form it merely provided for an Examining University, so constituted as not to be objectionable to Catholics. This would take the place of the Queen's University, which would be dissolved, though its three Colleges would be left

<sup>4</sup> This was not literally true. For the moment the O'Connor Don held his hand, but he did actually withdraw his Bill on July 23rd.

intact. The idea was to follow the model of the University of London which in its then existing form was purely an examining body. The proposal would, of course, give Catholic students a chance of graduating, but nothing more. It did not yet include the provision of any help to Catholic students of a monetary kind like that included in The O'Connor Don's Bill, still less any assistance to Catholic Colleges or Professors. Short of an actual breach of faith (no promises had been made as to the character of the coming proposals), the Government at this point could hardly have put themselves in a worse position.

The *Times* at once condemned the Bill. In its first leader it wrote: "This will not do . . . Degrees without money will not satisfy even the more moderate portion of the Irish laity, who do not sympathise with the inordinate claims of the Catholic hierarchy . . . Such a plan as that which Lord Cairns described last night, though useful as far as it goes, does not rise to the level of public feeling upon the subject. A grievance exists. The cry for reform comes from a very large mass of the Irish people. It is sufficient to say that, subject to limitations which are not now relevant, the Irish people must be educated in their own way." The article then goes on to hint that apparently there is nothing in the Bill to exclude its being supplemented by some scheme of endowment, and that it might be made the foundation of a measure which would satisfy all who ought to be satisfied.

It is difficult to describe the feeling created in Ireland. A good deal of enthusiasm had been aroused

by the debates in both Houses on The O'Connor Don's Bill, which seemed to show that some serious attempt to satisfy the needs and expectations of Catholics was about to be made. The Bishops had not spoken, but it was frequently stated and never denied that they would accept—at least as a working scheme—the proposal of their countryman to found a Catholic University on Intermediate lines. The plan now offered by the Government was treated with coldness if not contempt: the Bishops met on June 25, and passed resolutions, confirmed a week later in the Synod of Dr. Moran's diocese of Ossory, which made no reference to the Bill but merely reiterated the long-standing claim for justice in University education.

The *Freeman's Journal*, which at that date was regarded as somewhat of an official Catholic organ, denounced the Government proposal. The *Tablet* declared that in Ireland it was considered the "poorest effort yet made to solve the question of University Education," and went on to prophesy that "unless it were explained or modified so as materially to alter public opinion, a vigorous campaign will be opened as strong, as earnest, as influential as any regarding any question on which the public mind was agitated."

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But the Bill was modified, and very much for the better. On August 5, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lowther, Chief Secretary for Ireland, proposed as an amendment a new clause, which, after being debated warmly during that and the following day, passed unanimously. This was to the effect that the Senate

of the proposed University be ordered to prepare a scheme for providing buildings on one hand, and, on the other, for the establishment of Exhibitions, Scholarships, Fellowships, and other prizes, to be competed for under specified conditions.

It soon began to be realized that this concession was of a serious nature; in fact that, as Mr. Newdigate said when opposing the clause, it really constituted a new Bill. The Government had already given some indication in the House of Lords that, should the proposed Senate make a demand for money to be used as rewards for passing examinations, the demand would not be objected to as denominational. It is very difficult to say whether this enlargement in the scope of what was called a "Skeleton" Bill had been intended from the first, or whether it was the result of public opinion as expressed both in Parliament and in the Press. From indications given in the statements made by the Prime Minister, it is difficult not to conclude that there had been some difference of opinion among Ministers. Some of them must have been more closely in touch with the Irish Government who certainly wished for a tolerable solution. It seems probable that Lord Beaconsfield was feeling his way, being inclined to take the line of least resistance. As a mere matter of politics, in view of the coming election, the matter must have appeared to be something of a dilemma. Justin McCarthy, who was a shrewd observer of events, may have gone very near the mark when he wrote, two years later:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *History of Our Own Times*. Vol. IV. (1881), p. 535.

The Government brought in a scheme for University education in Ireland which was nothing better than a mutilation of Mr. Gladstone's rejected scheme. It was carried through both Houses in a few weeks, because the Government were anxious to do something which might have the appearance of conciliating the Irish people, without going far enough in that direction to estrange their Conservative supporters. The measure thus devised had exactly the opposite effect from that which was intended. It estranged a good many Conservative supporters; it roused a new feeling of hostility amongst the Nonconformists, and it did not concede enough to the demands of the Irish Catholics to be of any use in the way of conciliation.

The amended Bill became law on August 15, and on the same day the Queen's Speech included the clause: "I observe with satisfaction that you have been able to consider education in Ireland, and have agreed to measures which form a fitting supplement to the enactment of last Session regarding Intermediate education." The whole affair continued to be regarded with apathy among those chiefly concerned. Father Delany was among those who thought the Bill should be accepted and worked for whatever it was worth, as being, in its new form, at least better than nothing. Dr. Walsh never liked it, but did not oppose it publicly. The Irish Members, after some hesitation, accepted it coldly. There was one feature in the Bill that gave it some favour among the Catholic body, and that was that it did away for ever with the Queen's University, an institution which was violently unpopular, chiefly because of the disgraceful way it had been mal-administered from the beginning. It had been intended as a sop, and it had turned out to be a bone of contention. Regarding the

Royal University Bill, a representative of the Government had said to some Catholics: *We* are providing you with the stone; it will be *your* business to see that it is rolled up the mountain.

That is exactly what happened, as we think this record of University College will serve to prove. The new University was founded in a haphazard manner, it came into the world as an "unwanted" infant, it was never really popular, but was flouted, derided, traduced, and ignominiously abolished—but it did a good work and deserved at least a decent burial. However, it did involve a good deal of "rolling the stone up the mountain."

Dr. Newman's opinion of it was never openly stated, nor did it then concern him to interfere. But since it was destined to aid powerfully the continuation of his work, it is interesting to record a strong hint which he gave. It was in the autumn of 1879 that Pope Pius IX died, and his successor immediately raised Newman to the Cardinalate. Thus the new departure in the University life of Irish Catholics coincided with the complete vindication in the eyes of the world of the founder of the Catholic University, of his faithfulness to the Church, and his true loyalty to the Holy See. A deputation of three of his old students, consisting of Messrs. George Fottrell, W. Dillon, and H. J. Gill, on July 23, went to Birmingham to present to his Eminence their congratulations on his elevation, and to present an address signed by a Committee of eight, among whom appear the names of George Sigerson, Charles Dawson, and John Dillon. In the course of the address they expressed



a hope that the Cardinal would live to see his own "prophecy of a glorious destiny for the Catholic University at least in part fulfilled." This, on the date in question, could hardly avoid being taken as a reference to current events. In his reply the Cardinal was just as pointed:

Your address suggests to me the thought that—looking to the years when I was in Ireland—I have as it would seem good hope that after all I had my share of success. The greater is the work the longer it takes to accomplish it. Zealous men though not discouraged may be disappointed. Let us all recollect that our cause is sure to succeed eventually. We must be *contented with small successes*, and we shall *gain our objects only surely if we resign ourselves to a progress which is gradual.*

Does not this seem to more than hint that the offer of the Government should be turned to the best account?

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To resume our history of the founding of the University, the accession of Gladstone to office within less than a year after the passing of Beaconsfield's Bill was not a propitious event. The directions to the new Senate to draw up the scheme of emoluments had been left purposely vague, with the provision that it be submitted for consideration by Parliament. When the scheme was submitted, the new Liberal Government decided that money was asked for upon too generous a scale. Probably the new Act did not appeal to Gladstone personally, whose own attempt to settle the University question on very different lines had thrown him out of office seven years

previously. Moreover, in appealing to the electors for votes the Liberals had put forward their usual plea of economy. Anyhow, when the Senate presented their scheme, (ordered by the House for printing on April 6, 1881) they asked for Fellowships and other prizes which would, with costs of administration, have involved a sum nearly double the £20,000 per annum which was afterwards voted. The number of Fellowships (at £400 per annum) asked for was forty-eight, but was cut down in the new Statute to thirty-two; and so on with regard to other proposed emoluments. From this policy at the outset some well-grounded dissatisfaction arose, but even the sum of £20,000, inadequate as it was in itself, as an instalment of justice, was not to be altogether despised. It would work out, including the sum promised for buildings and equipment, at about seventy-five per cent. of the Intermediate Grant; and at about fifty per cent. of the capital sum demanded by the O'Connor Don for his University endowment.<sup>6</sup> In addition to the endowment, the University fees brought in some £8,000 or £9,000 per annum.

In the above sketch we have not discussed the personnel of the Senate, to whom so much discretion was left in regard to statutes of the University by which the disposition of endowments would be regulated. In a following chapter details about some of these will be given. Suffice it now to say that rather more than half the original Senators were Catholics; they comprised two Bishops, including

<sup>6</sup> This calculation supposes that at the date in question Government securities yielded 3 per cent. interest.

Cardinal McCabe, with three other Catholic clergymen; three Catholic Peers (of whom two were converts to the Faith); Lord O'Hagan, Chief Justice (afterwards Lord) Morris, and several other Catholic laymen who certainly had the confidence of the Bishops. A few of the Catholics appointed were objected to on political or semi-religious grounds; but, on the other hand, among the Protestant members there were several who were known to sympathize with Catholic aspirations. On the whole it was a strong legislative body, and it appears difficult to find fault with the selection of names upon Catholic grounds.

## CHAPTER III.

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FOUNDATION OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.

REV L. MCKENNA, M.A.



## FOUNDATION OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

No eye could have discerned in the provisions of the Royal University Act any promise of special advantage to Catholics. Yet, as it had been passed expressly for them, they were disposed to give a ready credence to the encouraging rumours which from the beginning were whispered as coming from people "in the know." The Act, it was said, was better than it looked; the Senate was intended to work out a scheme for their special relief.

These rumours proved to be true.

The Royal University took three years to develop into its final form, two years of slow progress followed by one year of kaleidoscopic changes, alternately exciting and depressing hopes. We propose to give a short sketch of this development chronologically; that is, we shall take the first two years together (1879-81); then the third, 1881-2, with its advances and recoils; and lastly the year 1882-3 which led unexpectedly to the foundation of the new University College.

In October 1879 the Bishops were faced with the necessity of naming a successor to Dr. Woodlock, who had been transferred in June to the See of Ardagh. On the new Rector would probably devolve a weighty influence in the shaping of the Senate Scheme so as to make it serve the interests of Catholic education and in particular of the Catholic

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University. Monsignor Henry F. Neville was their choice. A striking article of his in the *Dublin Review* (June 1879) on the University Question may have been the immediate cause of the Bishops thinking of him; but even without this, he enjoyed a high reputation in the Irish Church. Born (1822) and educated in Cork, he had entered Maynooth in 1841. Though a promising Dunboyne student, he was summoned to Cork City to help the clergy then decimated by an epidemic, and for some years he there displayed a remarkable zeal and activity. On his return to Maynooth he professed Philosophy and Theology with much distinction from 1850 to 1875, writing many articles on Theology and especially a powerful refutation of Gladstone's "Vaticanism." Finally, in 1875, he was made a Parish Priest and Dean of the Diocese, which positions he retained even while Rector of the University.

In intellectual powers and apostolic zeal he was like his predecessor, but in all else a striking contrast. Tall and stately in appearance and with a certain hauteur of manner, he impressed everyone as a man of strong convictions, restless energy, and powerful character, one to break through opposing wills and opinions—in fact, just the man for the hard task awaiting him.

Two changes marked the beginning of his administration. The Jesuits were withdrawn from St. Patrick's House—a very natural step as, in the year then opening (1879-80) there were practically no students to be taken care of, the burses having been discontinued owing to the low state of the collections.

The other change was the opening of one of the University houses (No. 83) as a Secondary School with the title "St. Gall's College." By its rent, and by providing a salary for L'Abbé Polin, who was taken on as one of its professors, it eased to some extent the financial position of the Rector. Its President was Rev. J. C. Egan, a Dublin priest, learned and zealous, but very delicate and—perhaps on that account—of a timid disposition.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this alleviation the situation of the Catholic University was very bad. There were about half-a-dozen students for its ten professors (Dr. Molloy, Dunne, Jn. Campbell, Ornsby, Stewart, O'Looney, Kavanagh, Casey)<sup>2</sup> whose claims for salary—though imperfectly and, for the last few years, not at all met—amounted to well over £3,000 a year. Some of them felt themselves obliged to attend in their classrooms during official hours, where they read their newspapers; others considered themselves dispensed from this troublesome formality.

To reawaken any vigour in the College was beyond the power even of Dean Neville. Nor was it expected of him. His energies were directed on the Irish Members of Parliament whose power was then beginning to be felt—though not acknowledged—by the Government, and whom he urged to keep the

<sup>1</sup> He had the misfortune to engage for the College a very masterful butler. Dr. Molloy used to tell how, calling once at the College, he had asked to see Father Egan. On learning that the latter was out, he told the butler to say he had called. "To tell the truth, sir," said the butler, "we are not at present on speaking terms." After the closing of the College Father Egan went to Australia where after a few years he died.

<sup>2</sup> We omit the professors of law. As they had their professions their claims for salary were less imperative.



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University question well to the front. Nothing of much consequence, however, could be effected by him until the Royal University Senate (appointed in April 1880), of which he was a member, would meet. When it met in June, it immediately appointed a Standing Committee<sup>3</sup> (with Dean Neville as a member) to draw up the scheme on which everything was to depend. The scheme, in so far as it concerned the Fellowships (the only point interesting us here) was drawn up in January 1881, and provided that there should be forty-eight Fellows, each receiving £400 a year (less the amount of any salaries derived from other endowed institutions). The scheme was approved by the Senate in February with the important addition that the Fellows should be, not merely official Examiners of the University but its official Professors as well. This was evidently a preliminary step towards making provision for the University teaching of Catholics, but how far the provision would go was as yet unknown. Nothing had been decided as to where the Fellows would teach or what proportion of them would be Catholics. A half-and-half division between Catholics and non-Catholics—the principle on which the Senators felt bound to act in distributing offices—was at the same time seen by them to promise much trouble. Would Catholics be satisfied with a half? In any case was not this method of endowing the Catholic University a roundabout and disingenuous one? Why not endow it openly? Professorships could then be given

<sup>3</sup> The members of this important body were: Dr Ball (chairman), Lord Rosse, Lord Emly, Sir Robert Kane, Dean Neville, Dr. Porter, Dr. Sullivan, Dr. Moffett, Dr. Scott, Dr. Molloy, Dr. Macalister, Mr. Redington.

on purely academic grounds. Dr. Ball accordingly in April led a deputation (consisting of himself, Monsignor Neville, Lord Emly, and Dr. Porter) to put before Gladstone this view, in which the whole Senate concurred.

Meanwhile, among those who had any inkling of the plan being elaborated, there was much anxiety. Was not the thing a device for enriching the already well-endowed Queen's Colleges? Was not this half-and-half principle being used most unfairly? Dr. Walsh, then President of Maynooth, wrote (5th January, 1881) to Father Delany: "There is no doubt but that the University game is in their [Queen's Colleges] hands. Catholic interests are simply 'sold.' When the time comes, I will ask yourself, Fr. Reffé, and the President of Carlow [Dr. Kavanagh] to join me in a protest to the Irish Bishops. There is no doubt the whole scheme can be blown to pieces. But for the present it is best simply to keep quiet." Father Delany's opinion was much the same, as is shown by a letter of his (1st May, 1881) to Dr. Walsh: "The University scheme," he wrote, "will, I fear, be positively injurious to Catholic interests, and will fasten the Queen's Colleges on us in a much more objectionable and dangerous form than heretofore," and then went on to express his want of confidence in Ball's deputation to Gladstone.

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The deputation was, of course, unsuccessful. Indeed, something still worse occurred in the following August. By the Bill granting funds for the Royal University, only £20,000 were given, a figure much smaller than

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had been reckoned on when the Senate drew up its own scheme. The scheme, accordingly, had to be revised (September 1881) and the number of Fellowships reduced to thirty-two. This was discouraging news for the Rector, now at the opening of the new academic year 1881-2. He was to be still more depressed in February 1882, when the results of the first Royal University Matriculation examinations (held in December) were announced. Many Secondary Schools had organized University departments, and had done brilliantly, while his College appeared nowhere in the lists. Even worse, the addresses used by several successful students, "Messrs. Croly and McGrath's Classes, Catholic University," "Tutorial Classes of Mr. Rob. Campbell, Catholic University," were not calculated to bring credit to his College. There was also the danger that another University College—in Dublin too—might be started. Some houses (Nos. 23-24) in Upper Temple Street had been bought by the Jesuit Provincial, who had got leave to open a college for Royal University and other students. Its prospectus had even been published (December 1881) with a view to its opening with the New Year, when Dr. McCabe wrote to explain that he had imagined a hostel and not a college had been asked for. Fr. Delany, its superior, was therefore not to use the premises as a college—at least for the present. Consequently, St. Ignatius' College, as it was called, was used from January 1881 till the November of the following year merely as a lodging place for a few students, a centre from which its

community<sup>4</sup> interested themselves in the many students from Jesuit schools residing in the city, and a grinding establishment (with Magennis, Colclough, etc., as tutors) for various non-University examinations.

In February 1882 the Episcopal Committee (Drs. McGettigan, McCabe, McEvilly, Woodlock, Moran, and Gillooly) met to discuss the situation. How dark was the prospect of relief for the Catholic University at this time has been shown by the letters quoted (p. 51) of Dr. Walsh and Fr. Delany. Drs. Croke and Butler, unable to attend, wrote advising its transfer to the Jesuits, an advice which Doctors Walsh and Molloy were known to favour.

Fr. Delany had been summoned to the meeting and was informed of their Lordships' views. "There was room," they said, "for only one University College in the city. Did he think the Society of Jesus would be willing, instead of opening its house on the north side, to take a lease of the Bishop's buildings?" He thought this probable, but could not answer officially. Conditions drawn up provisionally by Bishop Moran, were then read to him. They were briefly these: The Society would take a lease of the Catholic University buildings, and there conduct classes for the Royal University. Their students would be allowed—and expected—to attend the lectures of the Catholic University Professors. The houses could be resumed at any time after reasonable notice, say two years. If a Jesuit were made a Fellow he would lecture in the College, and would surrender for the expenses of the

<sup>4</sup> Fathers John Bannon, J. J. O'Carroll, and T. A. Finlay; the last-named not yet come to reside there.

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Catholic University such part—not over one-quarter—of his salary as the Bishops might determine; and this rule was to apply to all the Catholic Fellows. When Fr. Delany raised objection to some of these conditions on the ground of their obscurity, he received satisfactory assurances as to their practical meaning—the Society was meant to enjoy perfect freedom of administration and real security of tenure.

The proposals were then communicated to Fr. Tuite, who asked some time for deliberation. There were reasons for and against their acceptance. On the one hand to carry on Newman's University was a great honour and a work of national importance; its position was central, the best in the city; the Bishops, having offered it, would be likely to give it their patronage and support. On the other hand its reputation of constant failure would be hard to undo; but, especially, the financial prospect was not reassuring. If the students' fees did not cover the rent and the expenses of the large tutorial staff which would be plainly necessary, the Society would have to make good the deficit.<sup>5</sup>

After consideration the Jesuit authorities decided to accept the Bishops' offer, and to abandon their inchoate establishment in Temple Street.

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<sup>5</sup> Of course, the salaries of the Catholic University professors would remain a charge on the Bishops. It was to provide money for those of them who might not get Fellowships that the salaries clause was being inserted. In so far as the clause applied to Jesuit Fellows' salaries, it was rather acceptable, as it would render more likely the appointment as Fellows of a few young and active men whose lecture hours would be longer, and whose salaries would directly help the College.

At the next meeting of the Episcopal Committee (21st March) this answer was communicated, and the affair was about to be concluded when Dr. McCabe, just starting for Rome to get his Cardinal's hat, sent over a hurried request that no decision should be taken till his return. His request was, of course, complied with.

The Bishops then went on to discuss the Fellowship scheme of the Senate. They were so deeply discontented with what appeared to be the plan that Drs. McCabe and Woodlock had been thinking of resigning their Senatorships. This discontent was shared by a large number of Catholics at the time, who held that all the money available for the new University should be devoted to Catholics, seeing that it was for the relief of Catholics that the University had been intended—a view stated with much force by "Fair Play" (Fr. Reffé) in a pamphlet published in February 1882. The Bishops, however, adopted a more moderate position, namely, that *two-thirds* of the Fellowships should be given to Catholics, and that *none* should be given to the well-endowed Queen's Colleges. Also—though they made no formal resolution on the matter—they were all of opinion that, owing to the special needs of Northern Catholics, one or more of the Fellowships should be spared from the Catholic University and assigned to St. Malachy's College, Belfast.

Meanwhile—in fact on the day preceding the Bishops' meeting—the Standing Committee of the Royal University Senate had adopted a plan, which Lord Chancellor Ball had elaborated in view of the

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lessened amount of money (£6,000) earmarked for Fellowships. This was that there should be twenty-six Fellows, each receiving £400 a year (less any salaries from other endowed institutions) thirteen of them going to Catholics, one to Magee College, and twelve to the Queen's Colleges.

There were thus two plans brought into opposition to each other: that of the Bishops and that of Dr. Ball. At this point the intervention of Fr. Delany—who seems to have had fuller information of the Standing Committee's intentions than was possessed by the Bishops—saved the situation. During March and April, 1882, he wrote many letters and had many interviews with ecclesiastics and Senators, advising the acceptance of the Standing Committee's Scheme. In the first place, he argued, the Bishops' plan had not the vaguest chance of being adopted by the Senate. As a large proportion of candidates at the examinations would come from the Queen's Colleges, it would seem imperatively just that these Colleges should have a due proportion of Fellowships, the Fellowships being also Examinerships. Secondly, he pointed out that, as in the payment of Fellowships account had to be taken of salaries received from other endowed institutions, the Bishops' plan, though in appearance more favourable to Catholics, was in reality less so. According to their plan, the £6,000 divided into Fellowships of £400 each, would give fifteen, of which Catholics would get ten, but none available for Maynooth,<sup>6</sup> it being an endowed institu-

<sup>6</sup> Only in the following June did the Bishops decide not to apply for Maynooth Fellowships.

tion. On the other hand, by the official proposal Catholics would get thirteen, that is £4,280 (nine of £400 and four Maynooth ones of £170); Magee College would get one (of £400) but the dozen going to the Queen's Colleges would amount only to £1,320.

This view of the situation naturally prevailed, so that when the Senate (April 18) adopted Ball's plan, no protest was made in any quarter. The Senate thereupon immediately proceeded to elect twenty-one of the twenty-six Fellows, postponing the election of the remaining five until the Cardinal's return. The Catholic Fellows appointed—we are of course excluding the Medical ones—were: in *Classics*, Father T. A. Finlay, S.J.,<sup>7</sup> Robert Ornsby, James Stewart; in *English*, Thomas Arnold; in *Mental and Moral Philosophy*, Rev. W. E. Addis; in *Mathematics*, John Casey, Morgan Crofton; in *Natural Philosophy*, Dr. Molloy (who had resigned his Senatorship so as to be eligible); in *Chemistry*, John Campbell. In addition, L'Abbé Polin and Father J. J. O'Carroll, S.J., were appointed Examiners in Modern Languages.

For the Bishops, oppressed with the responsibility of maintaining the Catholic University, this event was an unspeakable relief. They had decided to discontinue the collections which had now become exceedingly unpopular—especially among the clergy—and in the preceding year had brought in very little money. The problem of providing salaries for the Catholic University professors was now practically solved. These were now all Fellows—all but two,

<sup>7</sup> Shortly afterwards (in October) Father Finlay was transferred from the Classical Chair to that of Philosophy, vacated by Rev. W. E. Addis.



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Mr. Scratton who, besides being Secretary, was a part-time Professor, and Mr. James Kavanagh, whose appointment had been blocked—evidently owing to the grudge still kept up against him for his conflict with the National Board. In May, therefore, the Catholic University notified its officials that it could no longer pay their salaries.<sup>8</sup>

But though bringing relief to the Bishops, the Fellowship elections made little difference to the College. It remained, after as before, open but practically empty, its professors being none the more efficient for their new dignity, and the new Fellows (Father Finlay, T. Arnold, M. Crofton) not having yet arrived. Only one of the staff (Casey) had any pupils worth speaking of. So matters continued until the end of the term in June.

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Cardinal McCabe, back in Dublin since May, was now of the opinion, and expressed it in a letter (August 1882) to the Jesuit Provincial, that the Catholic University should be given over to the Society, and would probably be so offered at the next Episcopal meeting in October. Father Delany anticipated that there would be opposition and difficulties, but he did not expect the strange turn which events now took. This was the result of a long letter which Dr. Woodlock wrote (September) to the

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Scratton regarded his house (No. 83 St. Stephen's Green)—very naturally—as partial compensation for his unpaid services, and declined to vacate it. The Bishops could not, of course, permit him to regard the lease as his property. When they had won their case in the courts, they compensated him otherwise. To Mr. Kavanagh, too, they gave a lump sum in reward of his long and valiant service.

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Bishops with a view to their coming meeting, and in which he suggested quite a new departure in policy. The Catholic University should be maintained but changed radically in its constitution. Each of the Religious Teaching Orders should be invited to establish in or near Dublin—on something like the Oxford plan—a University College. These Colleges would be constituent Colleges of the Catholic University, and their Presidents given positions on its Governing Body. The St. Stephen's Green College should be managed by the Cardinal and have the services of all the Catholic Fellows. Some of the new Fellows who were to be appointed should be taken from one or other of the Constituent Colleges and besides their lectures in the Central College, be free to give others in their own.

When the Bishops met at Clonliffe (October 1882), this plan was discussed and—but only in part—adopted. Of the resolutions agreed on by them at this meeting only two concern us here. First, the St. Stephen's Green College was to be staffed with the Royal University Fellows;<sup>9</sup> it was to be called "University College" and placed under the patronage of the Cardinal. Only the houses 85 and 86 were to be used, the rent of the others providing resources for a staff of tutors, etc. Secondly, the Jesuits were

<sup>9</sup> That it was from the beginning the Bishops' intention to concentrate all the Catholic Fellows at University College, was made clear by the protest which the Cardinal, on being told by Monsignor Neville that Casey was teaching at Temple Street, made against "this effort to have the staff of University College fighting against the University College." On being assured, however, that Casey was merely grinding some Jesuits in Mathematics, and one lay student for the Indian Civil Service, he made no further objection.

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to have leave to open a college (ranking with University College, Maynooth, Blackrock, Terenure, Clonliffe, Kilkenny, and Carlow, as Constituent Colleges of the Catholic University) either in Temple Street or wherever else in Dublin they wished.

Accordingly University College opened for the scholastic year 1882-3 under new conditions. Its President was Dr. John Egan (lately made a Fellow), and its staff consisted of the seven other Catholic Fellows, together with L'Abbé Polin (an Examiner), Dr. Sigerson, and three tutors (D. Croly, Joseph M'Grath, and Daniel Browne).

As the year went on, it was seen that the College was labouring under a hopeless handicap. The rents of the houses 84 and 87, whence its revenue was partly to come, were found not to be recoverable. Except Casey and Father Finlay, the Professors attracted no pupils, and even ceased to lecture. Getting no fixed salary from the College, its tutors took their fees directly from their students whom they intended to present as before, not from the College, but from their classes. The absolute failure foreseen for the College promised moreover to be thrown into terrible relief by contrast with—not to speak of the Queen's Colleges and the Seminaries—the numerous Secondary Schools, especially Blackrock and Tullabeg, which had done so well in the examinations of December 1881, and September and October 1882.

To these competing institutions Temple Street had now been added. It had opened since November 1882 as a University College with a numerous tutorial staff, including P. Dowling, J. D. Colclough, William

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Magennis, W. M. J. Starkie, L. J. Lawler, J. Beare, R. Graham. Messrs. Croly and M'Grath's services were also being used. There was a growing number of students, for whose benefit Father Finlay was organising a literary and social club and a Sodality. As early as January 1883 a brilliant result had been attained when Michael O'Dwyer secured both First Place in Modern Literature (Mary Hayden of Alexandra College coming next), and Second Place in Classics (D. Griffin of Blackrock taking the First).

In the early months of 1883 all hope was finally abandoned by Monsignor Neville. He resigned his position as Rector of the University. Before going back to Cork he presented Cardinal McCabe with a Bill of about £700, and a warning that subsequent demands would be greater still. This put the Cardinal in a difficult financial position, since he had accepted the responsibility of the new system. However, Dr. Molloy accepted the Rectorship with directions from the Episcopal Committee to carry on till the end of the year.

Before the opening of the new session Dr. Egan wrote (September 3rd, 1883) to Father Delany, that he had strongly urged on the Cardinal the advisability of giving over the College to the Society, that the Cardinal was in accord with this, and that the affair would be settled by the Episcopal Committee just then about to take place. What occurred at this meeting—at which Dr. Walsh was also present—is not publicly known; but that there was some hitch is certain from what Dr. Walsh afterwards wrote (5th December, 1884) to Father Delany. "You know a good deal of what

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I did to remove obstacles to the transfer of the College. But I do not think that even you know all. I am convinced that, but for a step which I went very decidedly out of my way to take at the very last and most critical moment, your Fathers would not now be in charge of the College."

The difficulty was—as far as one may conjecture—the question whether the Jesuits or the Fathers of the Holy Ghost should be offered the College. Monsignor Neville was known to have been in favour of the latter, and the Cardinal was generally said rather to incline to the same view. The Blackrock Fathers were excellently qualified to undertake the work: and indeed Blackrock had been the most successful of all the Catholic Colleges at the examinations up to this. On the other hand, it would have seemed strange and slighting to pass over the Jesuits with whom negotiations had been already in progress and had last year been practically concluded. Besides, Tullabeg, which had run Blackrock close, was only one of five Jesuit Colleges which had won distinctions and would certainly provide a good supply of well-prepared students for the future. St. Ignatius' College, too, which had already begun brilliantly, was about to be transferred from Temple Street to a more central position in the city. Perhaps, however, one of the considerations most heavily influencing the decision was the personal prestige which Father Delany then enjoyed. By his initiative in sending students for the London University he had given a powerful impetus to the movement which had resulted in the Royal; he had afterwards, almost single-handed, averted the immi-

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nent collapse of the Fellowship scheme; his influence, wide-extended and powerful, would be of immense advantage to the College; while his practical administrative powers, previously shown in Tullabeg, were now again producing fruit in Temple Street.

There was a widely-spread report that the Bishops finally decided to offer the College to the Jesuits; if it was refused by them it should be offered to Blackrock; and if the authorities there refused, it was to be handed over to Messrs. Croly and M'Grath, who alone of late had been making good as teachers.

All that we can certainly aver now is that an agreement was in fact come to with Father Delany as representing the Jesuit Order, and that on October 26, 1883, the articles were signed in virtue of which the management of the College (retaining the name it had enjoyed for the past year of "University College") was passed over to the Jesuits.

We now give the terms of the above agreement in full. It runs as follows:—

### A.

(a) The Trustees engage to lease to the Fathers the houses and premises on Stephen's Green, known as Nos. 84 and 85 with garden and two uppermost stories of No. 86—including Aula Maxima and rooms over it—for the purpose and with the obligation of establishing and maintaining therein a University College—to be called University College—under the care and administration of the Jesuit Fathers.

(b) The lease to be for ninety-nine years, with power of release on each side after a lapse of ten years, on a two years' notice.

(c) The lessors to have power to terminate tenancy at any time should reasons of public utility oblige the Bishops to reclaim possession.

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(d) The rent to be £200 per annum, all Rates and Taxes to be paid by lessees on the leased houses and premises.

(e) The tenant of No. 84 to become tenant of lessees.

(f) The lessees to have right of passage through gateway of No. 86, and the lessors right of passage through garden of No. 86.

(g) Repairs, alterations, and additions to be made at the expense of the lessees, and no additions or alterations in structure or buildings to be made without the written authorisation of the lessors.

(h) In the event of tenancy being terminated compulsorily by lessors, they will admit claim for compensation for authorised additions, subject to arbitration.

(i) Buildings (present and future) and premises to be kept in good repair.

### B.

The Jesuit Fathers agree:—

(a) To take at a valuation all the furniture in Nos. 84, 85, and 86 not required in the reserved portions of No. 86.

(b) To remove to the great Hall the museums, including zoological and anatomical collections, and also the medical library, to catalogue the same, and to take permanent charge thereof for the use of the University students. An allowance in the first year's rent to be made for the expenses attending the removal and classification of the above collections.

(c) To supply three halls for the lectures of the Fellows—Natural Philosophy lectures not included—in the leased buildings, at such times as shall be fixed for those lectures by the Academical Council.

(d) To admit, free of charge, to lectures of Fellows all matriculated students of the Royal University authorised by the Rector of the Catholic University to attend them; and to provide a study-room for the convenience of such students between lecture hours with all needful superintendence.

(e) Not to receive into University College any students in preparation for Intermediate examinations.

(f) To take charge and possession of the houses and property therein on the 2nd November prox.

## CHAPTER IV.

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### THE EARLY YEARS.

INCLUDING RECOLLECTIONS OF FATHER DARLINGTON, M.A.

1. Difficulties of the Start. Rev. L. McKenna, M.A.
2. The College Roll and Staff.
3. Members of the Old Staff.
4. The New Jesuit Staff.
5. Student Life in Early Days.
6. Recollections of W. H. Brayden.

*Appendix*—Linguistic Attainments of Father J. J. O'Carroll, S.J.





## THE EARLY YEARS

### 1.—*Difficulties of the Start.*

RAPID in decision and vigorous in execution, Father Delany had, within a week of the transfer, engaged all his staff, made his arrangements for lectures, and published his prospectus.<sup>1</sup> This appeared in the Press on November 4, and was immediately hailed with many an "*Esto perpetua*" from well-wishers, Dr. Walsh being particularly loud in its praise. In less than two months the rolls had one hundred and sixty students, nine—the full number for whom there were rooms—being resident. A Sodality of the Blessed Virgin was set in working order under Father John Bannon; while Father Finlay was founding a club, The Lyceum,<sup>2</sup> in which the students were fore-gathering, attracted and benefited by all kinds of activities—social, literary, dramatic, etc.

As the months went by, the cramping and galling conditions under which the College was being worked were felt more acutely; and there was many a whispered doubt whether after all it had been wise to take over the Catholic University college. An

<sup>1</sup> We print the names of the Staff as given in this Prospectus on pp 82-3.

<sup>2</sup> Father Finlay was at this time, not merely Fellow of the University, but Rector of Belvedere (since June). His Lyceum Club had its quarters, first in Dawson Street, then in Westland Row (the present Dunlop House), and finally in No. 5 Great Denmark Street, which had been bought as an extension of Belvedere.

independent one, it was suggested, untrammelled by any heavy legacies from the past, would have been easier to work and far more promising of success. For the ambitious scheme of lectures set out in the Prospectus there was a sad lack of room, and no way of getting more. The house No. 84 was found unavailable, Mr. Scratton occupying it. For the first few months things were still bearable as the spacious apartments reserved for Dr. Molloy, absent through ill-health, could be used. When on his return the congestion became unbearable, Father Delany sought and obtained leave to rent from the Rector the hallway and one room on the lower story. This was some relief, but very little. A room had had to be set apart as a chapel, another as a dining-room for the students and community, and two others as recreation rooms; and so it was a Chinese puzzle to arrange the multitudinous classes in the Aula Maxima and the few other rooms—rather poky ones—left available. The Catholic University books had been carted away; yet neither professors nor students could do without some kind of library. Books had therefore to be bought and arranged on various staircase-landings. As for the Staff, it was imposing on paper but to some extent valueless. Ornsby and Stewart had seen their best days, and students objected to attend them. Crofton was still at Woolwich (he actually taught only for two months of his two years' Fellowship); Campbell could not teach in the College at all, having no apparatus; in the first year, only a few students were sufficiently advanced for Father Finlay's Philosophy course.

But the new President would not take his hand from the plough, however stony the soil. He would win success at any cost; the cost could be made good afterwards—somehow. One thing he was determined not to do—to let the College stagnate as it had done for thirty years. And so, heedless of the despairing protests of his bursar, Father Denis Murphy, he spent money freely—above all on the first necessity—good tutors; he repaired the dilapidated house, adorned the Chapel, and did not stint the students. Yet his resources were meagre—Father Finlay's salary (£400), Father O'Carroll's (£75), and the fees of the students, some of whom paid little or nothing, and who all, according to some special arrangement, had to give a fourth of their fees to the Professors.<sup>3</sup>

It was a bold policy, but it was not one of despair. Father Delany counted on success to make all things good, and especially on the completion of the Fellowship scheme. The scheme had already done something for him, two of the Lay Fellows were excellent and a few others fair— but his most sanguine hopes were set on what it would do in the future. Five Fellows remained to be appointed—and appointed not as *emeriti* but for present value. Especially, if any of these were Jesuits, the gain to the College would be immensely greater as they would teach, not one or two hours a day, but the whole day, and their salaries would supplement the College resources. He was therefore looking about for a few members of the Society whose qualifications would be transcen-

<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, however, at an early date the Lay Professors waived this right on account of the extreme poverty of the College.

dent and defy cavil—a point alike of honour and self-interest. We shall return to this matter later.

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We may then picture his dismay when he learned that the whole principle of concentrating the Catholic Fellows at University College was being called in question. His first intimation of this was a letter (January 25) in which Dr. Walsh expressed the opinion—an opinion shared, he said, by the Cardinal—that Blackrock should get at least one of the Fellowships.

The principle thus challenged seemed to Fr. Delany a vital one, not merely for University College, but for the cause of Catholic higher education. It was with surprise and pain that he found it opposed by Dr. Walsh, whose close friendship he had hitherto enjoyed, and whose enthusiastic support he had taken as meaning complete agreement with his policy.

He won the struggle now forced on him. Had he lost it, the whole history of University College would have been quite different. Hence some account of the struggle must be given here.

Two distinct policies were in conflict.

Dr. Walsh was then—as he showed more clearly afterwards—in favour of a federal University for Ireland, one embracing Trinity, the Queen's Colleges, and any other College which could establish its claim to University status. He had never approved of the Fellowship scheme— to learn this in particular was a surprise to Father Delany. All Catholic Colleges which could do so should do their utmost to prove their claim to University rank. University College,

especially now with the Fellowships given it, would certainly do this. Blackrock had done brilliantly in examinations, and was the only College with anything like a strong claim to recognition. It should consequently be rewarded and encouraged by a Fellowship—one at least.

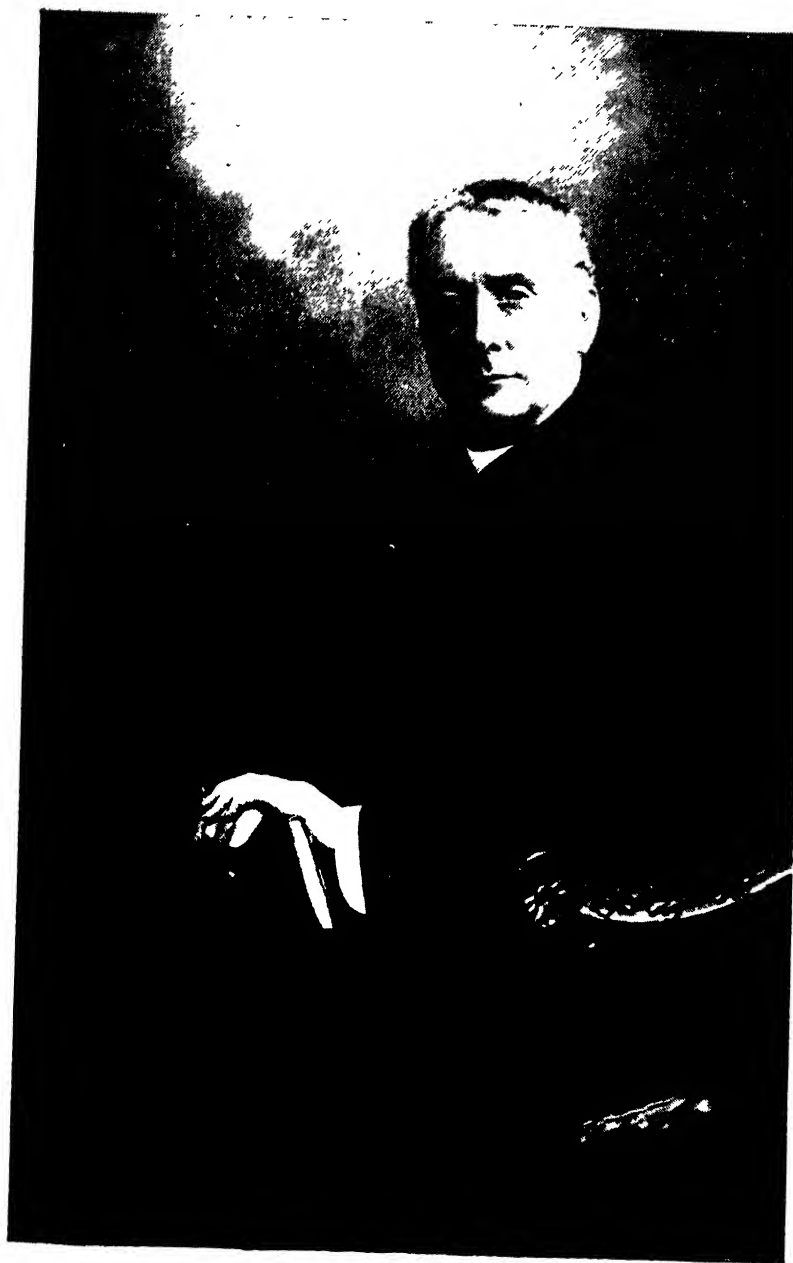
Very different was Father Delany's position. The Royal University, admittedly a transitional institution, was now offering Catholics a splendid opportunity of promoting the cause of their higher education. By using the Fellowship scheme, they could build up a great central Catholic College, which some day might rank in educational prestige as high as Trinity—or at least higher than the Queen's Colleges. Focusing the intellectual brilliancy of Catholic Ireland in one bright spot, a University in all but title and material resources, it would by its successes in the public examinations force the Government to recognise the claims of Catholics to a properly endowed University of their own. Successes would doubtless be won by many smaller Colleges through the country, but this would never have the same arresting effect on public opinion. To create such a great central and pre-eminently successful College it was essential that the Fellowships be concentrated in it. The most appropriate place for this concentration was evidently the Bishops' College, the only national—and not merely private—University institution in the country; but it should be effected somewhere; whether at Blackrock or on the Green was a point of comparatively small importance.

All the weight of authority, he showed, was in favour of this concentration. It had been devised by

the Catholic Senators; it had been accepted by the Bishops—whom it enabled to get rid of their responsibilities to the Catholic University Professors; it had been insisted on by them while University College was in their hands. It was, in fact, the only effective policy. If several Colleges were recognised as places where Fellows would teach, what would happen? Each of them would try by extra salaries to draw the Fellows to itself, entering into a rivalry wasteful of their financial resources and harmful to their educational efficiency. Even if this were made impossible by regulations, there would be infinite inducements to wire-pulling and intrigue at every election, and much reason for jealousy and heart-burning—all which would be avoided by having all the Fellowships attached to the publicly owned College. There was, moreover, no mean term between concentrating them in one College and distributing them among all. If Blackrock's success was her title to Fellowships, other colleges had been nearly as successful and might be as successful in days to come; if her difficulties were the basis of her claim, other colleges could plead still direr stress.

Of the five Fellowships due to the Catholics two were to be appointed on January 29. At the preliminary meeting of the Standing Committee (January 28) Dr. Walsh moved for the recognition of Blackrock as "an approved college where Fellows might deliver their lectures," but found no seconder. A few days before, the Cardinal had promised to propose for the Natural Science Chair Mr. Robert Curtis, S.J., intro-

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* p. 57.



REV. W. DELANY, S. J.





duced to him by Father Delany, and had also shown himself favourably disposed towards Father Gerard Hopkins, S.J., as a candidate for the chair of Classics. When therefore Father Delany, on the eve of the election, learned from Lord Emly that the Cardinal had definitely declared his intention to propose both Jesuits, he sent both of them word to be in readiness. Late that evening—too late for telegraphing—he was told that the Cardinal had changed his mind and would propose Father Reffé. And so it happened. The Cardinal's proposal of Mr. Curtis was carried without opposition, but his proposal of Father Reffé was rejected by twenty-three votes to three, many of the Senators explaining their opposition as being based on the principle of concentration of the Fellowships. After the election the Cardinal remarked to Mr. Redington: "I am just as glad things turned out as they did." He felt himself bound, however, to tender his resignation as a Senator; but, after an interview which Lord Spencer requested of him, he was induced to withdraw it.

The remaining three Catholic Fellows were to be elected in May. Again, at the Standing Committee of the Senate on the eve of the election, Dr. Walsh moved a resolution (which Dr. Woodlock was also to move in the Senate) for the recognition of Blackrock, but neither for it, nor for his proposal that Father Reffé be appointed to the Modern Languages chair, did he get any support. The next day in the Senate Dr. Woodlock withdrew his Blackrock motion, owing (there is reason for thinking) to some of the Bishops having represented that so important a

motion should have the authority of the whole Episcopal body and not merely of the Education Committee. When the election came on, Lord Emly proposed and Monsignor Neville seconded L'Abbé Polin for the Modern Languages chair; and, no other candidate appearing, he was elected. Father Delany having put in a request that of the two remaining chairs only one should be given to a professor of Science, and that the other should go to a professor of Celtic Language and Literature, Dr. Sigerson was given the Science one, the appointment to the other being postponed pending further discussion. Finally the Senate ordered that the Fellows just elected should profess at University College.

Dr. Walsh's policy being thus rejected, he resigned that evening. His place was taken a few days afterwards by Dr. Healy, Professor at Maynooth, who had just been named to the See of Clonfert.

The policy of concentration had thus triumphed. The Catholic Fellows subsequently appointed, Fathers Klein (1885), Clarke and Hogan (1889), Mallac, and the rest, of whom we shall speak afterwards, were as a matter of course assigned to University College.

However unavoidable, the contest had been very unpleasant to the President of the College. It had made him appear as though personally opposed to Father Reffé, for whose wonderful organising and energising powers he had always a warm admiration. Indeed, in the preceding year he had urged on the Cardinal the claims of the great Blackrock Dean to a Fellowship; and even while the dispute was in progress, wrote assuring him that, as a Fellow

attached to University College he would be most cordially welcome and have his convenience consulted for in every way; if he was being opposed now it was not for himself, but for the principle which he represented. But what caused Father Delany most pain was his being brought into opposition with the President of Maynooth, till then his staunchest supporter. During the rather lively newspaper controversy in which soon afterwards (November and December) Dr. Walsh defended his policy against Dr. Kavanagh, Dr. Cruise, and others, Father Delany, though one of the chief champions in the matter under dispute, maintained an absolute silence. That each gave credit to the other for opposition not to himself but to a principle may be seen from the following letter (May 31, 1884) :

MY DEAR FATHER DELANY,—The announcement in the *Freeman* was quite correct. It was, in fact, written by myself, and thus published so as to shut out the possibility of any effort being made by Lord Spencer to induce me to do what the Cardinal was unfortunately induced to do after his resignation. Anything is better than disorganisation and disunion.

It has been a source of great pain to me to find myself obliged as a member of the Senate to take a course in any way at variance with what you regarded as the interest of University College, now so successfully managed by your Fathers. And so I find it a great relief on this, as on many other grounds, to be rid of the responsibility that membership of the Senate imposed on me.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sailing was not plain in those early days. Many a gust swept down, threatening the venturesome little bark. One such was the trouble which ensued in consequence of the first papers set by the Philosophy

Fellows. We say no more of it here as it will be treated fully elsewhere.<sup>5</sup>

Fair breezes, too, sometimes sprang up and after a time died away. For instance, there seemed every prospect in 1886 of getting the Catholic University Library for the use of the College. Dr. Walsh had not, of course, been on the Episcopal Committee when it was removed. He was always in favour of its being restored, and when Archbishop of Dublin, made efforts to have this done. Somehow—it is not clear why—this hope was not realized.

Another incident, too, which promised for long a bright issue and ended in disappointment, must be told here. We refer to the effort made to obtain for the College a Grant-in-Aid. Had this been got, the subsequent development of the University question to a happy conclusion would have been different and more rapid.

To explain it we must again refer to the threatening state of the College finances at the end of the year 1883-4. A terribly heavy debt had been incurred and would go on increasing. Though the College was a national institution, there was now no question of the nation contributing to it or of the Bishops assuming responsibility for it, while the Society could not go on doing so indefinitely. And yet to throw up the attempt at making it the pre-eminent Catholic institution was simply unthinkable—especially now when it had begun to succeed. In the very first year of its new *régime* it had changed its condition and its fame. No longer was it decrepit and despised, but throb-

<sup>5</sup> In Chapter VII., pp. 217-8.

bing with life and crowned with glory; at the examinations it had left Cork and Galway Colleges nowhere and had come almost abreast with Belfast.

A good opportunity of making capital of this was at hand; the debate on the Queen's Colleges estimates was expected to come on soon. Father Delany therefore (at the suggestion of Sir Robert Hamilton, then Under-Secretary) drew up in November 1884 a Memorandum in which, after tabulating the year's results of the three Queen's Colleges, Magee, and his own, and giving also the public money enjoyed by each of them, he drew the moral, viz., that endowments of teaching institutions should bear some proportion to proved deserts. He sent this to all the Bishops, and to the chief men of both English Parties. Subsequently, after consulting with the Irish members, he reprinted it, adding the suggestion of a temporary provision for the relief of Catholic higher education. A Grant-in-Aid, he said, such as was given yearly to the Welsh university colleges, should be given to the Irish one. This would enable it to be worked efficiently, and would provide scholarships for clever Catholic students who were badly wanted as future teachers; while on the other hand it would be easy to pass, involve no complicated details, touch no existing interest, and introduce no new principle (University College already receiving public money in the form of Fellowships). Dr. Walsh approved of the proposal, especially as a grant of the kind could not easily be withdrawn afterwards, and would therefore mean so much more money to be divided *pro rata* when a final settlement would be made. He therefore

joined with Father Delany in drawing up for the new Memorandum a list of Visitors, representatives of the Hierarchy and the Irish Party—no Jesuit was on it.

This new form of the Memorandum was again sent to the Bishops and Members of Parliament. It had so much effect on the Government that (as Lord Carnarvon told Father Delany) they decided to make the Grant-in-Aid and changed their mind only on the eve of the debate. In the debate fourteen Irish members used the ammunition thus supplied them with much effect. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, admitted that an unanswerable case had been made out; but the grievance, he said, was so serious, that no temporary grant would be a satisfactory remedy for it; the Government, if in office the next session, would deal in a satisfactory way with this urgent matter.

This episode had raised the standing of the College and had improved the chances of a good ultimate settlement. It had, however unfortunately, got its author into trouble. When, as head of an institution at once nationally owned and privately managed, he approached the Government, some of the Bishops thought he was taking too much on himself and was acting as the spokesman of Catholic claims. To appeal to the Government for money was, he wrote to them in a letter of explanation, the only means left him to save the College—their College—from imminent danger; every step he had taken had been in close consultation with their representatives. Most of the Bishops thoroughly approved his action; and the matter ended.

If the disappointment of July 1885 was allayed by a Government promise—a sequence which was to recur as frequently in the future as it had in the past history of Irish education—another disappointment which came the following year was to have no such alleviation. The Government had a Bill ready—as everyone believed and Father Delany knew—when Dr. Walsh's overbold pronouncement (January 14, 1886) caused its abandonment.

Storm and stress were therefore the fate of the College in its opening years; at times it seemed threatened with ruin. Yet, spite of all, it forged ahead, keeping and improving its place as the first Catholic College of the country, and shaming the Cork and Galway Colleges—or rather the Government which persistently supported their inefficiency.

## *2.—The College Roll and Staff.*

If the Register<sup>6</sup> of Students is examined it will appear that the new College in 1883 opened (as we stated) with no less than one hundred and sixty students. This is a large number when we consider that before the change was made there were but a handful of students in St. Stephen's Green, many of whom were Medicals. It must be allowed that a certain number of those enrolled gave their names with only a vague hope of going on to a degree. For instance, a number of young Jesuits were enrolled as members of the College, not all of whom even

<sup>6</sup> The Register is reproduced as an Appendix to this history,  
n 480



attended lectures; while a number were not free to carry out the full University course. A large section of the enrolled had to attend Matriculation classes, a function which did not strictly fall within the scope of University Colleges, but had been already in operation in those of the Queen's University. At a later date the Matriculation Classes were dropped or were carried on only in connection with the evening lectures. It was only natural that when University education was thrown open to Catholics for the first time, there should be a boom among those who had been long demanding—even longing—for such an opportunity, many of whom had never been able to matriculate anywhere.

In the Second Session, 1884-5, the boom increased in vigour, for we find that students rose to the large number of two hundred and thirty-seven; but it is also somewhat disconcerting to see a note to the effect that only one hundred of these had matriculated—a fact which seems to show that in the first year the matriculation element must have been high indeed.

In the Third Session, 1885-6, the number drops to two hundred and fourteen, of whom one hundred and twenty-four had matriculated; and the following year was pretty much the same. In 1887-8 the number dropped again considerably to one hundred and fifty-four; and was much the same in 1888-9. But it rose again to two hundred in 1889-90 and did not vary very much for the next few years.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> We may say in passing that the numbers steadily increased till the last year of the College, when they again dropped below the two hundred standard.

The above numbers give some idea of the scale on which the work of the College was from the first carried on. In another Chapter<sup>8</sup> we give some account of the Evening Lectures, and call attention to their importance in promoting University education, more especially during these early years. They were largely responsible for the success of the College and for the size of its Roll.

The Honours gained in the University during the early years were of course on a much lower scale than later. Without loading our pages with examination statistics, we may say that in the B.A. Degree the average number of Honours taken (First or Second) was in the 'eighties only about *five* per annum; and taking the whole of the first decade, that is to 1894 inclusive, we find the average was still under *six*. Whereas in later years, especially after the admission of women to the College, the average was more like fifteen or twenty. In one year (1907) the number stood at twenty-four. It would only be tedious to analyse the lists. It suffices to say that the success of the College was progressive. Its beginnings were small, but as time went on the students gave an exceedingly good account of themselves.<sup>9</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

The first Staff of the new University College, as given in the Prospectus of 1883, was as follows:—

<sup>8</sup> Chapter VII., p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> For a few statistics regarding the Studentships won by the College during its whole course, see p. 149 and pp. 153-4.

*The Early Years**President:*

Rev. William Delany, S.J.

*Vice-President and Dean of Residence:*

Rev. Thomas Leahy, S.J.

*Bursar and Librarian:*

Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J.

*Spiritual Director:*

Rev. John Bannon, S.J.

## PROFESSORS:

*Mental and Moral Philosophy:*

Rev. Thomas Finlay, S.J., F.R.U.I.

Rev. Peter Finlay, S.J.

*Greek and Latin Languages:*

James Stewart, M.A., Trin. Coll. Cam., F.R.U.I.

*Greek and Latin Literature:*

Robert Ornsby, M.A., late Fellow Trin. Coll. Oxford,  
F.R.U.I.

Rev. G. Hopkins, S.J., B.A., Balliol College, Oxford.

*Classical Tutors:*

W. M. J. Starkie, B.A., Scholar, Trin. Coll., Cambridge.

M. T. Quinn, M.A., Lond. Univ. Scholar in Classics.

P. F. O'Brien, T.C.D.

*Mathematics and Mathematical Physics:*

John Casey, LL.D., F.R.S., F.R.U.I.

Morgan Crofton, B.A., F.R.S., F.R.U.I.

Rev. Robert Curtis, S.J., B.A., Ex-Sch. T.C.D.

*Mathematical Tutors:*

Rev. N. Tomkin, S.J., E. Hughes Dowling

*Experimental Physics:*

Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., F.R.U.I.

*Tutor:*

Joseph M'Grath, B.A. (Lond.),

*English:*

Rev. John Egan, D.D., F.R.U.I.  
Thomas Arnold, M.A., F.R.U.I.

*Tutors:*

Daniel Croly, M.A.  
J. D. Colclough

*Modern Languages:*

Rev. J. J. O'Carroll, S.J., Exam. R.U.I.  
Mons. l'Abbé Polin, Bach.-ès-Lettres, Exam., R.U.I.

*Irish Language, History, and Archaeology:*

Rev. J. J. O'Carroll, S.J., Exam. R.U.I.  
Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J.  
Rev. Edmund Hogan, S.J.

*Biology:*

George Sigerson, M.D., Exam. R.U.I.

*Chemistry:*

John Campbell, B.A., F.R.U.I.

It is somewhat surprising to find that in the first year, 1883-4, in addition to eight Jesuit teachers (among whom only Fr. T. A. Finlay was a Fellow of the University, and Father O'Carroll an Examiner), the teaching staff also included as many as seventeen others, mostly laymen. Among the latter, eight, whose names are so denoted, had been already elected as Fellows of the University. Of the remaining nine, Dr. W. M. J. Starkie deserves a special mention. His appointment was of course previous to his election as F.T.C.D., but he had already distinguished himself as a Greek scholar at Cambridge. Other notable members of the Staff were Messrs. J. M'Grath and D. Croly, who had been

already carrying on Tutorial work at the Green; also L'Abbe Polin, and Dr. Sigerson, who were to become Fellows in the following year, 1884-5. In this, the second year of the new College, the number of non-Jesuit teachers rose from seventeen to twenty-one, so that, in addition to the two new Fellows, two other secular Tutors must have been added to the Staff. And in the same session the number of Jesuit Fellows rose from one to three.<sup>10</sup>

It remains now to give some description of individual members of the Staff—first, of those taken over from the older College; and later, of their new colleagues taken from the Jesuit Order.

### *3.—Members of the Old Staff.*

It was always recognised that the Staff taken over from the old days of the Catholic University could not be of great use for the sort of work that would be required under the coming conditions. We have shown that the men, taken as a whole, besides belonging to a totally different epoch, were worn out and not physically fit for what must prove a grinding task. Yet they were not merely veterans in an historical warfare, they included among their number scholars of real eminence, whose names undoubtedly added a halo of romance, we could almost say of glory, to the somewhat uncouth new-born child. Therefore our history of that child would be sadly incomplete if it omitted to essay a portrayal of such

<sup>10</sup> By the election in January, 1884, of Father Hopkins and Mr. Curtis

a trio as John Casey, Thomas Arnold, Robert Ornsby; as well as of some of their less remarkable but none the less worthy colleagues. With the two first-mentioned Fr. Darlington was exceptionally familiar, and we owe to his memory many of the following details. Of Casey he writes:

“In 1884 I joined his class of Spherical Trigonometry, and thus saw the famous mathematician for the first time. When he entered the class-room we saw the tall and well-built figure of a quiet and simple man. We felt that being in his company was more like being with a child than an elderly man; his voice was pleasing, his words cultured—and very humorous. We all sat round him in a cluster, and the first thing he did was to bring out of his pocket a potato with a knife, and he commenced operations by cutting it into cubes. He then said that since his boyhood many devices had been invented to teach spherical trigonometry, but he had found nothing better than the potato which had been presented to himself in some country school.

“His method was not in the least like the ordinary class for First or Second Arts. He did all the explaining, while the pupils followed as best they could. About every ten minutes he stopped talking, and rolling his pencil between his two hands in front of his face, he told us some amusing little anecdote. This, he believed, kept the attention of his hearers fresh—kept them wide awake. The stories were often about the sights and adventures of his childhood. Here is one of them. When he was a young teacher in the Model School of Kilkenny, knowing nothing

as yet about Higher Mathematics, a poor young scholar of Trinity College who was dying of consumption came to the town. Out of pity Casey did all he could for the sufferer, who out of gratitude taught him some of the principles of mathematics before he died. The result was that he began to solve problems on his own account. Some of these were new,<sup>11</sup> and he sent them to Trinity Professors, among whom he mentioned Salmon (afterwards Provost), Townsend, and Williamson.

“These authorities wished to have him in Dublin, and to effect this they procured him a mastership in Corrig School, Kingstown, at the same time offering to give him free lectures in the College to qualify for a Degree, which offer he accepted. Once when doing a pass paper he found himself confronted with one of his own ‘cuts.’ Though he had given the correct solution, he was surprised to find that no credit was given for the answer. He then called on Professor Townsend to enquire the reason; and was told that he had left out too many of the intervening steps because he knew the answer so well. ‘If a young student had sent up that solution, we should not have known that he understood the whole process.’

“During another interval of teaching I remember his telling us something more ludicrous. At a *Conversazione* in the College an eminent mathematician was standing near the buffet, holding in his hand a glass of soda-water. Seeing Casey he whispered, putting the glass behind his back, ‘For heaven’s

<sup>11</sup> In the article on Casey in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (by Thomas Seccombe), it is stated that he solved Poncelet’s Theorem by a geometrical method.

sake put something into it unbeknown to me.' The poor man had taken the pledge!

"Often in these distracting moods the Professor would wander back to the days of his own boyhood at Mallow. After school he and a party were birds-nesting, and passing the railway bridge over the river they noticed a nest under one of its girders. To get it one of the boys would have to hang over the bridge head downwards, while another held his feet. There was an 'innocent' (as they called them) at hand, who was requisitioned to do the holding, while Casey was to be the boy hanging down. He was just getting the prize when he was startled by the cry from above, 'Just hold on there while I spit upon my hands.'

"One day Casey came to the class looking jubilant about something, and at the first interval he said, 'I have just finished the June examination papers, and I would wager a good deal that they won't be answered.' This was his test of a good Examiner: like a good bowler at cricket, to take the wickets. One of his witticisms became historical. Being asked, 'What is the difference between University College and the Catholic University—seeing that both are in the same building, together with the President of one and the Rector of the other?' he replied, 'If you take University College from the Catholic University, the Remainder is Dr. Molloy.'

"In all things simple and genuine, Casey was a thoroughly devout Catholic; he would go to Mass each day when possible. In his last days it was a pleasure to visit him. I had that privilege, and many wise things he said to me, as he played with a kitten



that was trying to catch a cork tied on a string. One thing is worth recording: he said he had during his life corresponded with some of the best mathematicians in all countries, and it mattered not what language they wrote in, so long as it was about mathematics. 'I could read them even if they wrote in Arabic. But I would like to add this, I never knew a first-rate mathematician who was not a believer in God. If ever I came across one who was not, I knew that he was a second-rater, and I was never deceived.'

"He told me of the hardest thing he ever had to do in his lifetime. After taking his Degree in Trinity College, he was offered a Professorship (to be specially founded for him) of £400 a year; a distinguished career awaited him—possibly he might reach the position of a Senior Fellow. But one day Cardinal Cullen, who wanted Professors for the University in St. Stephen's Green, sent for him. 'I am going to ask of you, Mr. Casey,' he said, 'a great sacrifice. Will you give up Trinity College for our new venture?' The payment was small, the outlook uncertain, but Casey would not refuse. Not so long after, however, the money began to fail, and the poor man had to support himself as best he could till the Royal University came along with its Fellowship and a certain income of £400 per annum."

\* \* \* \* \*

We turn now to the second member of our trio, this time a stern Englishman, and a Professor of English, but one who, in his way—a very different way, it is true—was hardly less interesting, certainly not less child-like, than the jolly Irish mathematician.



JOHN CASEY



Those who knew Thomas Arnold only in his later life at University College—he lived not merely like Casey through the 'eighties, but right down to the end of the nineteenth century—would gain a very inadequate idea of the man and his strange romantic career. Everyone knew him to be the last surviving son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and therefore brother of the great essayist and poet, Matthew, and father of Mrs. Humphrey Ward; also that he was reputed to be a learned authority upon the beginnings of English literature; also that there was a dark mystery—no recommendation to Irish Catholics—that he had been converted to the Faith, had given it up, and had again recovered it. What they could see of his exterior was that he was very shy, slow of speech on account of a slight impediment, far from bright in conversation, rather, to tell the whole truth, a dull-seeming person. He was, however, tall and intellectual-looking, and carried himself with a distinguished bearing like a courtier.

Elsewhere in our pages there is evidence that the Professor had more than one student appreciative of his learning and his gentleness; and he was often seen at public functions in the College, or the University, but it must be allowed that he did not count for much in the *entourage* of St. Stephen's Green. It was said that for a course of lectures upon early English which he wished to publish as having been delivered in the College, he had had to count upon the kindness of a friend to supply him with even a shadow of an audience!

There is another anecdote told of him, the result

of a really curious coincidence. One Autumn Term, beginning the Second Arts Class-work—the subject studied was the Elizabethan period of English Literature—the Professor opened his roll-book to record the names of those present. The first student answered, ‘Bacon,’ the next, ‘Raleigh,’ the third, ‘Spenser,’ and the fourth, ‘Johnson.’ Dr. Arnold, puzzled, closed the roll-book at this point and at the end of the class reported the—what seemed to him—silly joke to the Dean of Studies, who assured him that the names had been given correctly.

In his later life he found great happiness in his second marriage with Miss Benison, an Irish lady of a family well known in Co. Cavan. Together they gave pleasant lunch parties, generally of a Sunday, in a smallish house on Adelaide Road. The hostess was indeed charming, but Arnold in his shyness was more like one of the guests than the chief entertainer.

Who could then ever have thought that this reticent personality is described in a Classical English poem as a man, not merely throbbing with life and gaiety, but all but over-mastered by a sudden passion in which as a mere stripling of twenty he found himself enmeshed. All this is told about the lad Philip in *The Bothie*, a well-known composition, and the unique masterpiece in quasi-Homeric but humorous strain, of Arthur Hugh Clough, a poet of the Lake School. The piece has a sub-title, *A Long Vacation Pastoral*. Its author, who appears as “The Tutor” in the poem, was a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> When the poem appeared, Clough had resigned his fellowship because he could not subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. In this he was not unlike his pupil and friend.

and used to take reading parties to the Scottish highlands, and was more than once with young Tom Arnold. In 1847 he was in the part of the Western Highlands so graphically described in *The Bothie*, which was published in the following year. But the party of five in the poem must refer to an earlier date when Hope-Scott and the two Arnolds were with him, reading for their Degree.

That Philip Hewson, the hero of *The Bothie*, stands for Tom Arnold, there is no room for doubt—the writer in the *D.N.B.* says he is “thinly veiled”—especially as Philip goes in the end to New Zealand. How far the incidents in the charming love-story (for it is nothing else) are founded upon fact, must of course be a matter for conjecture. But the whole tenor and treatment is so intensely vivid that a reader can hardly help feeling that there is a good substratum of reality.

Speaking of the Lake School, the Arnolds were brought up in the Lake country, in close intimacy with Wordsworth, and entirely dominated by their surroundings. The sobriquet of Philip in the *Pastoral* was “The Poet”; he was “shy, very shy”; but he is also spoken of as,

Hewson, a radical hot, hating lords and scorning  
ladies,  
Silent mostly, but often reviling in fire and fury  
Feudal tenures, mercantile lords, competition and  
bishops,  
Liveries, armorial bearings, amongst other matters  
the Game-laws.

To understand this, we must bear in mind that Thomas was his father's son and namesake. Dr.

Arnold of Rugby impressed his Christian Idealism upon the thought of England; but he also found a rare measure of success as a practical reformer of education, or rather as its pioneer on the modern side. The younger man was also an idealist, but unfortunately, as often happens, he was also restless, unpractical, quixotic. After a brilliant course at Oxford with a Fellowship in sight, he was dissatisfied with the prospect—the place was too groovy, too comfortable—he migrated to London where, as a clerk in the Colonial Office, he found life still more unbearable. His gadfly—the Platonist-Christian Idea—now drove him to New Zealand where he tried the Pastoral life in a bungalow near a plot bought by his father,<sup>13</sup> then gave it up in despair, and passed over to Tasmania, became an Inspector of Schools, and married the grand-daughter of the Governor. His mind was still harassed with the enquiry: “What is the true ideal of Christian life?” When visiting an outlying school and staying at a wayside inn, he chanced upon a Life of St. Bridget of Sweden. He was so struck with this that his mind appeared flooded with a new light. His religious sense (no doubt inherited) from lying dormant was now becoming active. He reflected that the religion of St. Bridget was clearly better and more operative than his own; and he hurriedly applied for instruction and was received into the Church by Bishop Wilson of Hobart Town. Losing his appointment in consequence,

<sup>13</sup> He first built on the wrong plot, and then asked the owner of that plot to make an exchange. The refusal of the owner, which was natural, drove the young poet to desperation!

he returned to England in 1856, and was offered a post by Newman in the new University at Dublin, which he accepted. When Newman left Ireland, Arnold followed him to Egbaston and became First Classical Master in the Oratory School. This was in 1862. Now his mind reverted to its former "Liberalism," and this infected his ill-formed faith in Catholicism. Newman, though himself a Liberal of sorts, took alarm and thwarted Arnold in his school-work; who, when after a few years the dogma of Papal Infallibility was defined, felt unable to adhere longer to the Church, and of course departed from the Oratory. He returned to Oxford where he took pupils. Meanwhile he continued his devotion to St. Bridget, and somewhat later began to pray to her to restore to him that Catholic faith which, as he afterwards judged, he had lost through remissness in prayer. Being now offered the Oxford Professorship of Anglo-Saxon, he asked whether he would be allowed to hold it in case he should revert to Catholicism. Receiving a negative answer, he declined the tempting honour with its emoluments. This great sacrifice and his prayer to St. Bridget won him the gift of Faith, and it came at last through the reading of T. W. Allies' classical work, *The See of Peter*. Meanwhile he did some of his chief literary work, and was finally reconciled to the Church in the year 1877. After two years the Royal University was founded, of which he first became an examiner; and afterwards in the year 1882, a Fellow and Professor of English in University College. After his death in 1900 the *Daily News* wrote of him:



“He did not much care for getting on in the world; indeed his quixotic disinterestedness was the despair of his friends: it seemed as though on principle he acted in opposition to his interests. Such men are rare and are therefore the more attractive.”

In his *Passages in a Wandering Life*, published shortly before his death, Arnold gave an account of his religious “wanderings,” adding: “I do not mean to palliate or underestimate my weakness and instability; the only plea that I can urge is that I acted in good faith, and the taint of self-interest never attached to what I did.” That fact stands out clearly all through his strange story. It is interesting to know that one of his last acts was a Pilgrimage to St. Bridget’s shrine in virtue of a vow he made while yet a Protestant.

Professor Robert Ornsby, M.A., of whom again a record is found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, if less remarkable historically than the two scholars just described, was yet a man of considerable learning as a Classic. He was born (in Co. Durham) in the same year as Casey, i.e. 1820, and died within two years of him, in 1889. He was a Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and at one time held the University Office of “Master of the Schools.” He was a typical Tractarian, and followed Newman into the Church in 1847 when holding a curacy in the city of Chichester. For some years he assisted Mr. Frederick Lucas in conducting the *Tablet* while it was located in Dublin. When Newman founded the Catholic University Ornsby accepted his invitation to become Professor of Greek. Later he became private tutor

to the late Duke of Norfolk and his brother. He returned, however, to his old post at the Catholic University in 1873, at the request of the Irish Bishops. In 1882 he was elected a Fellow of the new University, and, in conjunction with Professor Crossley of Belfast, was placed in charge of the examinations in Greek. His greatest title to fame was an edition of the Greek Testament which was for long a standard work, being based upon Cardinal Mai's edition of the Vatican Bible. He was always somewhat of a recluse, and this habit was deepened owing to the bad health of his wife who was a great sufferer. This lady was a sister of the celebrated writer, Father Dalgairns, who was associated with Father F. W. Faber as a member of the London Oratory.

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Professor James Stewart, Ornsby's fellow-Tractarian, may well be mentioned along with his more distinguished colleague. Stewart, having been born in 1817, was three years senior to Ornsby, but became a Catholic one year later. Newman wrote of his academical success from boyhood when "he carried off a prize for Latin composition from one hundred competitors."<sup>14</sup> A native of Aberdeen, he went through the University of that city, taking a gold medal and several prizes for Greek. In 1835 he migrated to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1839, taking honours simultaneously in the Classical and Mathematical Triposes. He was Second Master at a school in County Durham for seven years, and was recommended by the Bishop

<sup>14</sup> *Catholic University Gazette* for October 19th, 1854.

of that diocese, Dr. Maltby, for a Headmastership elsewhere, which however he failed to obtain. In 1846 he became Curate at Woolverstone in Suffolk, when he gained golden opinions "from every creature in the parish capable of affection"; and after about four years he resigned in order to be received, with his wife and daughter, into the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup> He then supported himself and family mainly by private tuitions, but for a time was teaching at Port Louis, Mauritius; and later at the Catholic Collegiate School in London. At the foundation of the Catholic University in 1854 he was appointed to the Chair of Ancient History, became a Fellow of the Royal Society thirty years later, and died in his seventy-fifth year in February 1891. His ill-health has been already alluded to, and for the last few years of his life he was incapacitated for work.

Professor Morgan Crofton, F.R.U.I., was included in the Mathematical Staff of the College, though the actual work he did in it was comparatively slight. The son of a Protestant clergyman of Sligo, he was born in Dublin, and received his mathematical training at Trinity College, where he graduated with the highest honours. He soon obtained the Professorship of Natural Philosophy at Galway College,

<sup>15</sup> The circumstances of his actual conversion appear incredibly strange. He told Father Darlington that his great difficulty had been with regard to the doctrine of "Indulgences." Wishing to have this explained he went to Ipswich, about six miles from his home, to consult the Catholic priest of that town. He found him living in a small cabin, and digging potatoes in the garden. He then put him a question as to the meaning of Indulgences, but found that the poor Padre had never even heard of them. The Parson then tried to make clear what he had already learned on the subject, and in doing so found that his difficulties had vanished!

which he resigned in 1853, about which date he entered the Catholic Church. His son, Father William Crofton, S.J., writes: "My father was not with Newman in Dublin, but he was instructed and received into the Church by Newman himself in the early 'fifties at Birmingham. He was at the R.M. Academy, Woolwich, for a considerable time—in fact, till he was superannuated." An obituary notice in *Nature* (by Mr. Kelleher, F.T.C.D.) states that Crofton's appointment at Woolwich lasted from 1870 till 1884, and that he held there the Professorship of Mathematics and Mechanics. In virtue of his valuable writings upon the theory of Probability and other branches of pure mathematics,<sup>16</sup> in the year 1868 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; and later an honorary Doctorate was conferred upon him by his own *alma mater* in Dublin. He held the Fellowship in the Royal University from the year 1884 till 1895, when he retired, and he died at a very advanced age at Brighton in May 1915.

There is not a great deal to be said about John Campbell, who was Professor of Chemistry in the College for seventeen years, viz., between 1882, when he became F.R.U.I., and his resignation in 1899. He had the reputation of being a careful and successful teacher of his subject, and though somewhat reserved in character was by no means without a degree of popularity. Professor Birmingham, under whom he worked for many years, remarked that he knew little of Mr. Campbell's antecedents. He was educated at the Academic Institution, Harcourt Street, and

<sup>16</sup> He also wrote an elementary work on Mechanics.

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graduated in Arts and Medicine in Trinity College in 1859; he also lectured in the Carmichael School for several years in Botany and Chemistry until 1873, when Dr. Woodlock, Rector of the Catholic University, appointed him to the Chair of Chemistry in succession to Dr. W. K. Sullivan.

The Abbé Polin had been Professor of French at St. Stephen's Green for over ten years before its change of government. A native of Alsace, he came to this country soon after the Franco-German War, accepting an appointment in the Catholic University. Though he had remarkable gifts as a linguist, and an extensive knowledge of literature, he attained only moderate success as a Professor. Some of his pupils, however, took a good place in the University Examinations, and his services and abilities secured him a Fellowship in the Royal, which he held until his death in July 1889.

Dr. John Egan, who had been not only Professor of English but also for a year President of the College, was elected Fellow of the University in 1882, and continued to teach his subject under the new arrangement. In 1890, however, he became Bishop of Waterford, and thus his academical career was closed.

Among the old Staff were Professor Sigerson and Dr. Molloy, but as they flourished throughout (or nearly throughout) the history of the College, and will be frequently mentioned in our later chapters, it is unnecessary here to give details concerning them.

*4.—The New Jesuit Staff.*

The fact of handing over the College to the Society of Jesus pointed out the direction to which Father Delany must turn to strengthen his staff. But even in his own Order, whether he applied to his own or to foreign Provinces, he could hardly hope to get at a moment the help he would require. No Province was willing to part with its best men for a scheme which many wise-heads would have called chimerical. However, with the help of five different Provinces, after a couple of years a valuable accession of strength was procured. We could not state that all were equally efficient as teachers, but they were men of solid learning and even of such distinction in their various Faculties as to give confidence to the Bishops and Clergy and People of Ireland that a real centre of study was being re-established in St. Stephen's Green, not unworthy of the earlier fame of the Catholic University. It happened (providentially, we may think) that the Irish Province, though hitherto without any outlet in the way of higher education,<sup>17</sup> possessed among its members scholars of real eminence, some of whom were elderly, if not superannuated, or for other reasons were not considered suited for ordinary work in the schools of the Province. Without here going into full particulars, we may note that the names of those so commandeered are the venerated ones of Fathers

<sup>17</sup> In the 'Eighties there was no house of Theology. A small Philosophy existed at Milltown Park, run with the help of foreign professors.

O'Carroll, Hogan, Denis Murphy, and Mr. Robert Curtis. Father Thomas Finlay's case was also exceptional. He could hardly have been spared in the ordinary course, being as practical a man as his talents were brilliant, and he was, as we have stated, Rector of the Dublin Day-School. But very fortunately he found it possible to accept a Fellowship in the University and a Professorship in the College without infringing upon his other important duties. Then there was Mr. Joseph Darlington, an Oxford Graduate who had resigned a living in the Church of England to enter the Society and had just completed his noviceship. His assistance was not fully rendered before the year 1886, when he became Dean of Studies.

Thus the Irish Province gave its full quota of assistance to the new undertaking of the Province. A little later, from the English Province came Fathers Gerard Hopkins and Richard Clarke, both Oxonians, and Father Klein, an Alsatian; from the German Province, Father Kieffer; and from the Belgian Province Father Hahn. Such was the personnel of the Jesuit Staff about whom more detailed information will now be added.<sup>18</sup>

To commence with those of the Irish Province, the oldest (and, we may add, the most learned) was Fr. John J. O'Carroll, who had been in the Society for over thirty years. He had been with Father Delany in Temple Street, and had been all his life teaching,

<sup>18</sup> Almost all of those we have enumerated joined the College in its first or second year. We have explained that Father Darlington was not on the Professorial staff at this early period, but he was one of the first to join the College as a student.

but his extraordinary genius did not lend itself very easily to school work. He never became a Fellow of the University, but until his death in 1889 he held the office of Examiner in Modern Languages, and constantly taught in the College. As a linguist his gifts and attainments were quite extraordinary, as evidenced by the testimonials that were printed in 1884.<sup>19</sup> He was, moreover, widely read in literature. Though he did not write much and had been something of a literary recluse, he published an important pamphlet, for which he hardly gained the credit he deserved, proving beyond all cavil the debt of Shakespeare to his contemporary poet, Thomas Campion, then little known.<sup>20</sup> Father O'Carroll was entirely of the old school; he had strong views on many subjects, but was as much beloved for his kindly disposition as admired for his talents. He had taught for long years in the Jesuit Colleges of Clongowes and Limerick, and when called to the College in Temple Street was engaged in teaching Classics to the scholastics at Milltown Park; and for the few who were kindred spirits he was a delightful and inspiring preceptor. To the new College a scholar of his calibre was no small gain, and his sudden death in 1889<sup>21</sup> was a real loss. It was strange that he was never promoted to the rank of Fellow and Professor.

<sup>19</sup> We print extracts in an Appendix to this chapter, p. 127.

<sup>20</sup> It has been surmised that Thomas Campion was related to the Jesuit martyr of the same name. His works were brought into notice by A. H. Bullen in 1889; and were edited by T. MacDonagh, of University College, three years before his execution in the Rising of 1916.

<sup>21</sup> This took place on March 5th. He had a seizure in the street, and was carried into the College, when he expired in the Porter's lodge after a few hours.



It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than existed between Fr. O'Carroll and Fr. Denis Murphy. About the latter there was no trace of the literary recluse. On the contrary he was a peculiarly genial and sociable man, and on casual acquaintance would be marked out for the man of affairs rather than the student. He shrank from no trouble for his vast circle of devoted friends and clients. Every Irishman as such, of whatever faith, was dear to him; but on the side of nationality he could show himself at times more sarcastic than amiable.

Again, unlike Father O'Carroll, whom he loved to teaze, he was less strong in the linguistic than in the archaeological side of Irish studies; and though he was proud of his knowledge of Gaelic, it was said not to be profound. But as a historian, especially on the Catholic side, probably no Irishman of his generation could come into competition with him. He was a Vice-President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, and editor of the *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*; he was also appointed by the Irish Hierarchy as Postulator of the Cause of the Irish Martyrs. It was in this regard that his life work was of the greatest importance to his country. In his earlier days as a Jesuit Scholastic, he had resided in France, Austria, and Spain, and had also visited Prague and Lisbon. In these cities as well as at Paris, Innsbruck, Madrid, Liège, and Douai, he had spent much of his time in studying archives and in transcribing the testimony of eye-witnesses or other contemporary writers as to the Acts of the Irish

Martyrs. As the fruit of many years' labour he prepared his last work, entitled *Our Martyrs*, of which he had corrected the last proof-sheet only the day before his death.<sup>22</sup> The book, extending over one hundred and fifty years of persecution, contains two hundred and fifty names of alleged Irish Martyrs for the Faith, besides several communities of whom individual members, numbering up to forty or fifty, are known only to God. The roll includes no less than seven Archbishops, many Bishops and secular clergy, Jesuits and members of five other Orders, and lay-folk.

It has been remarked that Fr. Murphy in compiling this monumental work of historical records rarely penned a sentence in his own words, and never without adding his authority.

As already stated, Father Denis Murphy came to St. Stephen's Green at the opening of the new College in 1883. His duties as Bursar and Librarian did not prevent him from doing some tutorial work; but he held no official position in the University. In 1889 he removed to Milltown Park, where he remained for four years Professor of Moral Theology. In 1903

<sup>22</sup> Father Murphy died on May 18th, 1896, at the age of 63, from apoplexy, which may have been partly the result of the effort and anxiety attending the above publication. His well-known historical work *Cromwell in Ireland* was published several years previously. A writer in the *Saturday Review* of July 14th, 1883, described it as "a very laborious and transparently honest attempt" to supply a truthful history of that unhappy period; "by far the most trustworthy account of his subject which is extant." The same article speaks of him as having "set himself to work, with a patience which almost amounts to doggedness, to get together, abstract, compare, and arrange the scattered and in many cases, not easily accessible original documents."

he came back to University College, where for his last three years he prosecuted more exclusively his work on the Irish Martyrs.

We do not do more than refer here to Father Edmund Hogan's position as an Irish Scholar, his career, which extended over our whole history, being dealt with elsewhere.<sup>23</sup> The same applies to Father T. A. Finlay.<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Robert Curtis was a mathematician of high rank. A Dublin man, he entered Trinity College as the first Catholic Scholar after the abolition of Tests by Gladstone in 1871. His attainments were so great that he was expected to read for and to obtain a Fellowship in his subject, but he preferred to enter the Society of Jesus. He had taught in the schools, but with only moderate success in ordinary class-work. He was an expert swimmer, and had a rich fund of humour and gaiety which made him particularly beloved by his religious brethren, who were distressed to know that in his younger days he had been threatened by a serious form of epilepsy. It was at one time hoped that he was becoming exempt from the malady, but as the seizures returned he was debarred from receiving ordination. His end (like those of Fathers O'Carroll and Murphy) was tragic, though not quite unexpected.

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We shall now give some notice of the Jesuits who came from the Provinces of England and the Continent. Along with the appointment of Professor

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter VII., p. 183.

<sup>24</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 217, 222, 246-57.

Curtis came that of Professor Gerard Hopkins in 1884. His career was in some respects not unlike that of Mr. Curtis, for, though he was not subject to actual attacks, he suffered more or less continuously from nervous depression, and like Curtis, he died at a comparatively early age, having been more learned than practical. The genius of Hopkins was indeed remarkable, nor was it confined to one branch of mental excellence. As a Greek scholar, had he fully utilized his talents, he could have stood in the first rank; in fact, at Balliol College, Oxford, the celebrated master, Dr. Jowett, had declared that he never met a more promising pupil. As an English poet, his work—though not without defects—is at the present day fully recognized as manifesting real genius of a high order; it has become almost the subject of a craze—so frequently is it discussed, quoted, and possibly imitated; but this poet was also an essayist, a musician, and even had a taste for higher mathematics. As a convert to the Catholic religion he was filled with enthusiasm, but as a theologian his undoubted brilliance was dimmed by a somewhat obstinate love of Scotist doctrine, in which he traced the influence of Platonist philosophy. His idiosyncrasy had got him into difficulties with his Jesuit preceptors who followed Aquinas and Aristotle. The strain of controversy added to bad health had marred his earlier years; and in Ireland, owing to his political predispositions, he found himself out of harmony with his surroundings. Some of his pupils appreciated his powers and took advantage of his scholarly teaching; but on the whole he was not happy either

in the College work or in the drudgery of the examinations for which he was not well fitted. It has been alleged that he ought never to have been a Jesuit; but his love for his Order was intense, and we are permitted to believe that, though he had many trials to endure, they were mainly due to his highly-wrought temperament. If this be so, it is probable that in other circumstances he would not have had a brighter existence, and perhaps would have been deprived of the deepest consolations of his life. But to those who knew Gerard Hopkins his career will always suggest the idea of tragedy. Is not this true of many modern poets? It is consoling that, like Francis Thompson and Lionel Johnson, even if a tragic figure, Hopkins has now at long last come into his own.

A few years later another Father of the English Province came to the College for a single year, 1889-90, namely, Father John Clarke. He supplied the place of Fr. Hopkins at the College, and also took his part in the University Examinations, but was not appointed to a Fellowship. At this period Father Clarke was editing *The Month* for the English Province, and was able to resume academical work only on the understanding that he could continue the editorship. This duty was sufficiently heavy, and he soon found the combination impossible.<sup>25</sup> He had been a Classical Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, until his conversion to the Catholic Faith, which took place just before the abolition of Tests in 1871,

<sup>25</sup> Father Clarke's place was taken by Father Henry Browne, who was appointed to the Greek Chair after completing his theology in North Wales, in 1891.

so that he was required to resign. He was noted in the University for teaching Greek and Latin Composition, and had rowed in the inter-University Race. Later he did great work for the English Province in establishing the Jesuit Hall in Oxford. It was a curious coincidence that Blessed Edmund Campion, after whom it is called, had also held a Fellowship of St. John's which he too had relinquished owing to his re-conversion to the Faith; and Campion Hall adjoins the College and is built upon its property.

Father Clarke during his short stay in Dublin threw himself into the work of the College and made an attempt to resuscitate the Sodality which was not doing very well; with his own students he was distinctly popular so that his departure was much regretted. He had made a special study of the University Question, and wrote articles relating his experiences in the College.

Dr. Martial L. Klein came also in 1885 from the English Province (though he was a native of Alsace), and was appointed to a Chair in Biology (Botany)<sup>26</sup> to be held concurrently with that of Professor Sigerson who chiefly taught Zoology. He came to Ireland with a considerable reputation, and was a fluent speaker of English; but as a matter of fact his interest in academic work was comparatively slight, nor did he resume it after leaving Dublin. We prefer not to more than allude to the peculiar circumstances under which he severed his connection

<sup>26</sup> Officially with the old-fashioned title of "Natural Science."

with the College<sup>27</sup> and with Religious life. He continued for a few years longer to examine for the University, but his re-appointment was subsequently discontinued.

Dr. Klein was succeeded by Father William Hahn, a Belgian Jesuit of real eminence both as a Biologist and as a writer upon spiritual psychology. Unfortunately he was only able to remain for a single year, and before his talents were fully ripened he died at Namur, in December 1904.

To go back to the year 1884, from the Province of France (Paris) came another Professor of interesting personality—like Hopkins and Clarke, a convert to Catholicism. Till middle life Père Mallac had been a confirmed free-thinker while practising at the French Bar; when (owing as was said to his sister's influence) he determined to devote his life to divine things, and applied for entrance into the Jesuit Order. He, like Father Hopkins, had a metaphysical complex, but unlike him, was a fierce follower of Aristotle. He was also known to be preparing a treatise on the Higher Logic which was to surpass everything—indeed he claimed more or less justly to have read everything written of late in any European language upon the subject. He remained in his room studying almost all day and a great part of the night, often absenting himself from community meals and taking alone some black coffee and a biscuit. His very appearance was arresting, there was a haggard look in his strong, well-cut, swarthy features, and some-

<sup>27</sup> His resignation of the Fellowship took place in August, 1887.

times the glance from his black eyes was so terrifying that he was yclept by the students "Mephistopheles." The abstraction of the Philosopher did not prevent the Professor from interesting himself in College matters, at least as regards the students of his pet subject. He did not believe that the pabulum supplied to them elsewhere was sufficiently "scholastic"; it wanted the true Peripatetic tone. He undertook to give them the real thing as an antidote, exercising over some of them quite innocently the magnetism of his sincere but strange character. But they were divided into two camps of broader and narrower Aristotelians. The result may have been to make them to think independently, and to debate about some of the deepest problems of knowledge; but the presence of the enthusiast in the College was a disturbing element from the point of view of the authorities. So that in spite of Father Mallac's pure love of truth and of learning, he was, after five years' association with the Irish Province, recalled home. In his own country Père Mallac's singular gifts found an outlet in the more practical fields of activity; he did not survive for many years, as the intensity of his mental efforts had probably overstrained his physical powers.

Lastly, Father Kiefler came from the Province of Germany, but he was advanced in years and was not able to remain more than one year, 1885-6, in the College. He was a specialist in electrical science, and had adopted from his own master a theory of the nature of electricity which he propounded with extraordinary ardour. His views would now be



entirely out of date, but it may be that they represented some advance upon previous notions, and even had some affinity with what we call the New Physics. He certainly held that the "atom" was something to be explained by electrical theory, and that currents were caused by the disassociation of atomic constituents. Whether there was any solid mathematical basis for his theories is uncertain; but their explanation on the physical side was full of life and vigour, so that as lecturer Father Kieffer both drew large audiences and kept them interested. He was also a great believer in the practical application of frictional electricity to various maladies, and had practised these remedies so persistently in the city of Bordeaux that he had got into trouble with the medical authorities and was obliged to go elsewhere. He practised on various persons in the College and elsewhere in Dublin, apparently with good results, using an old-fashioned frictional machine which he found in the College.

For the ordinary College classes he was much too profound and eccentric to be very useful.

As Father Darlington had so much influence on the progress of the College from the beginning, the reader may expect to see him described in these pages. His name, however, stands at the head of this chapter; and, moreover, as there are references to his work in other contributions of this volume, only a few remarks may be permitted here.

For a long period he was entrusted with practically the complete control of study and discipline in the College. Both his Presidents trusted him

implicitly, and he had the faculty of instantly submitting to their wishes when made known to him—though this must not be taken to mean that he failed to get what he wanted. His sense of tact and avoidance of friction or opposition was proverbial; and his tenacity, combined with an extraordinary power of organization and grasp of detail, and an alarming gift of energy and zeal, would account for his success as an official.

But there was more. By all, and especially the younger students, he was beloved as a friend and trusted as their confidant. He had an extraordinary memory for each, and was known to have a power of reticence so that their confidence was safe. He was a good judge of character, and without effort he appeared to convey to each individual the idea that he was of more importance to the Dean than all the rest of the College put together.

In a word, those who knew and observed facts would be slow to deny that Joseph Darlington, besides being the external pivot upon which the College revolved, was also a considerable factor in its inner life.

Such, then, were the members of a Staff which, whatever may have been its peculiarities in certain cases, was assuredly not wanting on the side of talent or learning—and to it, along with other causes, ought in fairness to be attributed the success of the College. And once more—it was Fr. Delany who got the staff together.

While speaking of the Jesuit contingent upon the professorial staff, it would not be just to omit a reference to other members of the Order who in various ways gave their services to the Community and College. There was always a Vice-President who had a certain control not only over College finance,<sup>28</sup> but also the general administration; and a Spiritual Father, with perhaps other members of the Community, who may occasionally have done some academic work of a subordinate nature.

Father Thomas Wheeler was Minister and Vice-President for several years after 1888. In matters of finance he was especially capable, and during Father Carbery's *régime* he gave much assistance in that respect. He was widely known not merely in Dublin but throughout Ireland and was beloved for his brightness, kindliness, and rich gift of humour. He had a fund of varied knowledge which made him an excellent conversationalist, and was unsparing in devotedness to his friends and to works of zeal. In the College he was on excellent terms with the Staff and students, though his relations with them were mainly official. Like Father Wheeler, Father John Conmee and Henry Fegan were also popular as Dean or Vice-President; both were in charge of the Sodality—neither remained more than one year, Father Conmee in 1893-4 and Father Fegan 1905-6. Father Conmee afterwards became Provincial, and died in 1907; Father Fegan is still with us, and is so widely known for his commanding influence over men and

<sup>28</sup> This refers especially to the period antecedent to 1901, when the Academic Council was instituted.

youth that it would be superfluous for us to dwell upon his merits and achievements.

Father Matthew Russell lived for some years at St. Stephen's Green as Spiritual Father to the Community. His earlier residence there when it was known as St. Patrick's House has been already alluded to. When he returned in the year 1895 his contact with the College was small, his whole time being given to his editorial work for the *Irish Monthly*, but he was always beloved; and, if rarely seen, his presence was nevertheless felt to be a blessing. In the year 1902 he was transferred to Tullabeg, and after a year to Gardiner Street, where he worked mainly with his pen, till his death in 1912.

The period of Fathers Wrafter and Redmond was later, but it can be mentioned here. Each of them was in turn Vice-President. Father Wrafter was genial and popular with everyone, as he has since been in his work as Father Minister at Clongowes. Father James Redmond (brother of Sir Joseph, President of the College of Physicians) was liked for a quaint straightforwardness and humour that was all his own. He remained with the Community in Leeson Street as Superior or Minister until his death in February 1914.

#### 5.—*Student Life in Early Days.*

It will require some exercise of the imagination to realize the conditions under which the students lived and worked when the new College was launched on the waters of its destiny. That there was from the

first a healthy and vigorous life we hope to make clear, life theoretic, practical, and spiritual. But the record of the College's development will not carry its full significance except for those who understand the tenuity of the beginnings and the harshness of the academic atmosphere which would have frozen to death a less full-blooded organism than the new College proved itself. Irish intelligence with its adventurous spirit had been so long starved and stunted by its cruel stepmother—*est mihi namque domi pater, est injusta noverca*—that it had well-nigh reached inanition. But when the chance arrived, its movements showed that the apparent paralysis was less inherent than superimposed.

Such descriptions as it has been possible now to gather of the state of things in St. Stephen's Green in or about the year 1883 bring out forcibly this contrast between interior and exterior conditions. The academic situation we have seen to be pitiful. Lectures had almost ceased except in so far as the adventitious aid of Messrs. M'Grath and Croly provided something practical. Classes such as they were had been mostly carried on in the Aula Maxima, an arrangement which continued for the first two years of the new *régime*. In 1885 the adjoining house hitherto occupied by Professor Campbell,<sup>29</sup> was vacated, and was henceforth to be used as lecture-rooms. Father Darlington remembers that, when he was ordered to get it ready, he found it utterly dismantled, even the gas-fittings having been

<sup>29</sup> We refer to 87 Stephen's Green, the house now in use as Presbytery for the University Church.

removed, so that for the Evening Lectures he had to get it lighted as best he could. The only furniture available was that which he was able to rescue from the Aula Maxima, consisting mainly of a few benches and chairs.

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Yet we have fortunately some living witnesses that good work was done and that at least some of the old staff were such as to give a favourable impression to the new students. In particular Professor Henry McWeeney has a vivid recollection of this period, all but a half-century ago. In fact his recollections go back to a period just antecedent to the new order of things. Speaking of his early training in Mathematics, he remembers listening to Professor Casey, who had a mixed class of students. Although the book-work which he communicated would not have been adequate for the training of a higher mathematician, yet his explanations, so far as they went, were marked by extreme lucidity. When Professor Crofton came over as a member of the new staff from Woolwich, his teaching was valuable; but, as he continued to reside in England, he came over chiefly in connection with the examinations which he was appointed to conduct. Even when he was presented with an Hon. Degree by Trinity College (which was his own Alma Mater), the distinction had to be conferred *in absentia*. His task lay chiefly in the direction of mathematical physics, though he took part in the mathematical examinations generally. It is an interesting fact that on McWeeney's going first to the Catholic University he had been sent by M'Grath to get some teaching

in the Jesuit College at Temple Street, not then imagining that that establishment was so soon to be transferred to St. Stephen's Green. The arrangement was that the youthful student might attend some lectures given at Temple Street by Robert Graham, a well-known and successful Tutor of Trinity College, who had joined Fr. Delany's staff. He was author of well-known handbooks of Algebra and of Factors, and was known to be a marvellous expert in preparing for examinations, being familiar with the sort of tricky questions that were often set. But McWeeney found him to be also a first-rate teacher, and attributes chiefly to him the foundation of his own mathematical career.

Professor McWeeney, in recalling his early days, distinctly avers that the spirit of the students was keen and optimistic. He remembers hearing that his brother, the late Professor E. J. McWeeney, who entered the Catholic University in 1881, had discovered an old billiard table in a room at the top of No. 86. It was dilapidated and had a bad sag towards one of the corner pockets which the player had to allow for. Edmund took it in hands with the assistance of Louis Carvel and E. de Chauselin Murphy, who themselves turned the cloth to make the table more playable. It was in this room that our authority first met Fr. Delany, who had just arrived with a party of clerics for a preliminary inspection of the premises. Noticing their small and active leader, McWeeney asked what was his name, and was told that this was the Jesuit, Father Delany. He and his companions were not altogether pleased at this discovery, as they

were a comfortable little clique and feared that the even tenor of their ways might be disturbed by this evidently enterprising priest. But if he could have foreseen the future, our informant would have become aware that his life-long relations with the interloper would improve, for among all Fr. Delany's colleagues in University College no one continued more constant than he in allegiance and friendship to the new President.

He also remembers an attempt of the students in the following year to establish a Society for the study of Meredith. W. P. Coyne, unlike McWeeney a Resident student, took a leading part in this, and Father Gerard Hopkins, just appointed by the Senate to his Fellowship in Greek, also attended the proceedings. One evening the promised writer of a paper was not ready and they began to read a portion of *The Egoist*. Hopkins, though an admirer of the author, was so irritated at the ideas expressed in the passage read that he could not endure to listen and by way of showing his displeasure took an abrupt departure. The Society hardly survived this hard blow.

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Professor Robert Donovan, whose memories go back not quite so far as Professor McWeeney's, but yet to the commencement of University College, has also favoured us with a few notes. He, too, was impressed by the way that Professor Casey made things clear to his students. He remembers, moreover, the reading of Milton by Professor T. Arnold, and was astonished at the facility and beauty of his



rendering, considering that in conversation he always suffered from an obstinate stammer. As a lecturer his place was often taken by Dr. John Egan, afterwards Bishop of Waterford. He prepared his lectures on Shakespeare carefully, but they were wanting in power and originality. Donovan, like Coyne, was a Resident, and he remembers, among others, Shannon, Pettit, Eugene Downing of Tralee, Errington (not studying for examinations) and Willie O'Reilly of Knock Abbey, Co. Louth. Professor Donovan has a special recollection of the short addresses given by the new President to the students on Sunday mornings at their Mass at eight o'clock. He regarded them as perfect specimens of real earnestness expressed in pure as well as eloquent language.

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The students dined in the same refectory with the President and Community, who were joined at a sort of high table by Dr. Molloy, Professor of Physics. After a time the Jesuits moved elsewhere to be alone after the usual custom of religious communities, but the genial Professor stayed on, frequently taking his meals, other than breakfast, with the students. The good man was also fond of a game of billiards after dinner and joined the students (let us hope on a better table than the one described above). The students began to find the arrangement monotonous, but there could be no question of giving the enthusiastic player a hint. So knowing that Dr. Molloy was too keen to suffer defeat gladly, they entered into a plot. No one was to be allowed to play unless it was certain he could put the Doctor to straits, and

their morals were so abandoned that they actually looked about outside for strangers who were by way of being rather good. The ruse, we regret to have to say, was perfectly successful, and the boys were henceforth left to themselves. Sometimes, too, it had happened that Dr. Molloy's conversation at dinner was over the heads of the undergraduates, and this time it was Coyne who plotted the revenge. One day he read up a lot about the Saga of Iceland, and during a lull in the conversation casually introduced the subject. Then with a bland and innocent face of enquiry he asked the Doctor's opinion upon some recondite problem connected with the poems. The Doctor winced but said very little, and for the future was rather wary about Coyne.

When Father Delany took over the premises there was a small controversy as to the patch of ground at the back. As Rector of the University Dr. Molloy had made use of it for lawn tennis along with McGrath and Croly, and had occasionally used it for giving parties. So he naturally desired to claim it as part of his domain; however, when it was made clear that it would be required by the College and Community, he gracefully yielded the point. The patch had many vicissitudes. It was freely used as a recreation ground by students during the five minutes allowed between classes. The Residents used it a great deal in the summer, lolling about and chatting on Sunday mornings, or sometimes playing hand-ball or lawn tennis. Later the hall porter, George (?), tried to rear on it a crop of potatoes and cabbages; and later still, when the garden class-rooms were

built on the old walls, Professor Bailey Butler converted it into a botanical garden which was the cause of mirth to the uninitiated.

Among the proclivities of Coyne (always known as Jim Coyne) at this period was his taste for thought-reading. He once gave a semi-public demonstration at a concert given by the students and their friends. He was only fairly successful in doing what was required of him, and once to save trouble he was given a secret tip with which he basely condescended to comply. But for this slip, he was sincere in his efforts to convince the sceptical, and he really had some slight gift of sympathetic insight. The chief basis of a musical society, which gave one or two concerts but did not continue to thrive, was the extraordinarily fine baritone voice of Joe Gaffney of Limerick. He was also supported by one of the two Carbery brothers.

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Our witnesses agree that for the small numbers there was quite a lively spirit among the Collegians. Professor Donovan adds that there was not at this time so much association with the Medical School as came in later years. But he and some of his friends were brought into touch with Trinity College through the kindly offices of Dr. Douglas Hyde, who had rooms there, and used to invite Catholic University students to tea and introduce them to some of the undergraduates. During the years to come, so far as there was any social intercourse between St. Stephen's Green and Trinity (which was not very frequent), we believe that the older institution never

displayed anything but a kindly and courteous spirit to the younger. This does not refer to the official attitude of Trinity towards its cheeky rival—this could hardly be expected to be particularly favourable—but the younger men of the staff and the undergraduates usually appeared pleased to meet the Catholic students, sending friendly invitations to meetings of societies or to sporting events and competitions.

Speaking of Athletics, in the early days there was an attempt at forming a Rugby Team, chiefly owing to the initiative of P. Lynch (now K.C.), who still interests himself in the Athletic Union of University College. They used to practise at Milltown Park, and fought a few matches, but they had not enough material to do anything by themselves. It was the co-operation of the Medicals at a later date which woke up University College to a sense of its possibilities in sport.

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We fortunately possess the minutes of the Literary Society for most of the Session of 1882-3. This was being run as a continuation of the older Society of Newman's time, although there had been an interval of inactivity prior to the establishment of the Royal University. The minutes show that during the year prior to the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers, Messrs. M'Grath and Croly were active in keeping it going with the assistance of Dr. John Egan and at least occasionally of Professor T. Arnold. We have the record of eleven meetings of the Society with numbers ranging from twelve or fifteen to twenty-three. All sorts of

subjects were debated, often with close divisions. At one time the Committee consisted of Messrs. Crean, J. Nolan, C. Byrne, Dan. Croly, W. Wrafter, J. E. Gannon, Callaren, Mooney, Moriarty, and Ryan. Mr. McGrath was elected Auditor for the year, although we have not any evidence to show that an Inaugural Address was delivered. Professor Donovan had not come into residence during the above Session, as he entered on the foundation of the new College in 1883. He recollects that in his first year, by the President's desire, Father Finlay took the position of Auditor, and there was a revival of activity in the Society.

Robert Donovan himself was elected Auditor for the following year. He remembers that in the Session succeeding his own Auditorship, that is, in 1885-6, there was a fierce contest for the honour between E. Young and Jos. Farrell. The former triumphed, but was in turn succeeded in the following year by his vanquished rival. The latter was a great reader of Professor E. A. Freeman, and admired his theory that the Greeks, though not highly organized politically, became a powerful factor in the world's history. Mr. Farrell applied this theory to the Celts, whom he compared to the Greeks, expressing a hope that they would yet give to the world a fresh illustration of the English historian's thesis. A fuller history of this Society will be given in a later chapter.<sup>30</sup>

We shall now add the Recollections of a well-known Irish journalist whose avocation as Editor

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter IX., p. 355.

kept him out of academic life, but has enriched his mind with a rare knowledge of men and of national movements.

6.—*Recollections of W. H. Brayden.*

My memory of University College goes back to Upper Temple Street in the autumn of 1883. The Royal University had not been long in existence, and Father Delany and his band of Jesuits were making the most of the opportunities which it afforded. The Temple Street house was, on the view, as unlike a college as possible, but it had nevertheless all the real essentials of education. There were first-class teachers and eager pupils. Of the teachers I recall Mr. M. T. Quinn, a distinguished Honours M.A. in Classics of London University, afterwards, I believe, a Professor in the University of Madras. Among the pupils was Michael O'Dwyer. He had passed into the Indian Civil Service, of which in later life he became one of the most brilliant administrators, and was studying at Balliol. He came over to Dublin to pick up, as it were *ambulando*, whatever scholarships the Royal University had to offer. He picked up a pair of them, I believe, with great ease. It was a new experience for me to meet a student who thus took learning in his stride, and for whom the Greek of Sophocles had no puzzles. There was also among the students Pierce Nolan. He had just finished a fine course in the Intermediate Examinations and was a candidate for the Indian Civil Service. Ireland, however, claimed him in the end, and I knew him

for many years at the Irish Bar as one of the Registrars in Chancery. There was also William P. Coyne, who was in after life one of my colleagues in journalism which he finally abandoned to become one of the most valued officials and pioneers of the new Department of Agriculture and Technical Education.

After a few months in Temple Street the College migrated to St. Stephen's Green. The College there had been a sort of Cenotaph of the old Catholic University. Monsignor Molloy, as the Rector of that institution, still continued to occupy rooms in it, and Father Delany's invasion left him undisturbed. All the other rooms soon became, under the impulse of Father Delany's energy, very busy centres of University teaching. Some of the old Catholic University professors of the Newman period still survived. I can barely recall Stewart and Ornsby. But I well remember Mr. Thomas Arnold and the charm which he could impart to a lecture on early English. Father O'Carroll had come over with his fellow-Jesuits from Temple Street. Most of the people who to-day talk of and in the Irish language have never heard of him, Yet he was one of the most ardent Irish language enthusiasts, a leading promoter of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, and in constant correspondence with the great German philologists who were studying Celtic. Of course Father O'Carroll formed a class in Irish in the College. I was in it. With a foretaste of a sentiment, which was in after years to become widespread, Father O'Carroll decided that in learning Irish we should

completely abandon the speech of the Sasanach, and the classes were, therefore, conducted in French. I think we should probably have acquired a more firm grip on Irish, and perhaps by this time have earned the Fáinne, if our French had been more sure of itself. Father O'Carroll was a delightful personality, and much esteemed by the students. He was known as the Irish Mezzofanti, and was reputed to be a fluent speaker and writer of some two score modern European languages. He used to seek for every opportunity, for instance among sailors at the docks, to exercise practically his profound book-knowledge.

Another Jesuit whom I have reason to remember with gratitude was Father Denis Murphy. He was an historian of distinction, and his *Cromwell in Ireland* and other books have remained standard works. I knew him best as a musician. He played the 'cello, and was a frequent visitor to the Dublin Instrumental Club which used to meet on the premises of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. There he used to bring me, and there I learned for the first time the fascination of the string quartet.

A gracious figure in my memory of those days was Father Gerard Hopkins. We were told he was a poet, but it was not till many years later that I learned to appreciate the rare inspiration and flavour of his verse. He taught Latin and I can still remember some of his observations on Tacitus. But he knew equally well the manifestations of the modern mind, and could detect their fallacies, even at the height of their fashion. At that time there were many of the students with a craze for the novels of George



Meredith. It was distinguished to be a Meredithian and to be able to unravel the eccentric convolutions of his thought and style. Some of us, I remember, got a shock when Father Gerard Hopkins forced our attention to the real nature of Meredith's philosophy and its dangers. We were all very wise and clever then, and thought Father Gerard's criticisms misplaced and uncalled for. It was not till grizzling hair had cleared our brains that we learned to appreciate how just was his estimate. Father Darlington was another English Jesuit of whom our memories hold an affectionate record. He seemed to be in every place at once, and to fall, with astonishing readiness, into sympathy with students of the most diverse personalities. The teaching staff was from time to time supplemented by men of outstanding scholarship. It was then I first met Dr. W. M. J. Starkie, who had come from Cambridge to teach Greek, and who was later to become a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, President of one of the Queen's Colleges, and eventually Resident Commissioner of National Education. Life has jumbled us up a lot. I was to have much association—friendly, and occasionally otherwise—with Dr. Starkie. I recall, too, that one of the students of those days was Sir Walter Nugent, Bart., M.P., now Chairman of the Great Southern Railways and a Director of the Bank of Ireland, and for a time the very diligent Chairman of a daily newspaper of which I was the editor.

—W. H. B.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

### LINGUISTIC ATTAINMENTS OF FR. J. J. O'CARROLL, S.J.

Father O'Carroll, who was an extremely reserved and modest-minded man, was required to issue a statement as to his knowledge of languages confirmed by the testimony of German, French, Italian, and Spanish Professors and scholars. These included, among others, Professors Max Müller, of Oxford; Gustave Bischof, of Glasgow; Philip Höffler, of Blyenbeck, Limburg; the Baron Von Hügel, son of the Austrian Ambassador; Balthar de Reichel, Knight of St. John of Jerusalem; Charles Rieu, Keeper of Oriental MSS., British Museum; Charles Cassel, Examiner to London University and to the Council of Military Education; Père Stanislas du Lac, of the College of Rue des Postes, Paris; Don P. J. Zulueta, of the Spanish Legation, London.

From these papers it appears that Fr. O'Carroll spoke these four principal European languages not only fluently but without any trace of foreign accent, that he had discoursed publicly in French and German, and that he had taught German as well as Latin to the students of the German College in their own tongue.

In addition to these languages, Father O'Carroll wrote: "I am perfectly at home in *Portuguese*, and I know well the *Dutch*, *Swedish*, and *Danish* languages. Moreover, I have studied *Icelandic* and *Anglo-Saxon*; and to some extent *Roumanian* and the dialect of the Grisons.

“In regard to languages not included in the ‘Modern Language’ Department of the Royal University, I am well acquainted with important languages of the *Turanian*, *Slavonic*, and *Celtic* Stocks. I have lived in Hungary and made myself acquainted with the *Magyar* Language and Literature.

“I know *Polish*, *Bohemian*, and *Russian*; as also the leading dialect of the Southern Slavs in its *Servian*, *Dalmatian*, and *Croatian* forms. I made some study of *Carniolese* with a native, and have an elementary knowledge of *Bulgarian*.

“I am an enthusiastic Gaelic student, and have contributed original compositions to the *Gaelic Journal*, and critical articles on our older literature. I speak the language fluently.

“I have studied *Romaic* and can read *Modern* as well as *Ancient Greek* with fluency.

“I take peculiar interest in the older forms of our Modern European Languages and Mediaeval literature.”

## CHAPTER V.

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### RELATIONS OF THE COLLEGE WITH THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY.

#### *Appendix*—Comparative Summary of Results.

PROFESSOR HENRY BROWNE, M.A.



## RELATIONS OF THE COLLEGE WITH THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY College practically came into existence with the Royal University, and ended when that institution was abolished by Act of Parliament. Nor could the College, viewed academically, have any *raison d'être* except that of bringing to the Catholic youth of Ireland such benefits as could be offered to them by or through the University. It is not necessary here to discuss the drawbacks, which to-day are understood by everyone, in a University which acts exclusively or mainly as an examining body. Yet under the depressing circumstances under which the University had been founded—considering the disabilities under which Irish Catholics had laboured there were certain advantages for them in being brought into a system of competition with others who had enjoyed better conditions than themselves. In fact, this competition worked out much as it was found to work under the Intermediate system for Secondary Schools. Those institutions came to the front which had been assumed to be most backward in learning. From the first the Catholics held their own,<sup>1</sup> but soon they were found to out-distance their competitors. And the same thing happened more

<sup>1</sup> Those who remember the declaration of the first Intermediate results, will recall the enthusiasm aroused by the late Charles Doyle (afterwards Circuit Justice) getting 1st place in Senior Grade.

gradually in regard to the Colleges recognized by the Royal University.

As to the extern students all over the country, for whose benefit the Government had ostensibly created the University, they would be at some disadvantage. According to the scheme adopted by the Senate they would be examined by the University Fellows, who were College Professors, and along with the students who were prepared for the examinations by the Professors themselves. That is to say, the Professors of the Colleges would act in common, examining together all the candidates, whether interns or externs. No one would contend that such a system was entirely fair or satisfactory for the outsiders, nor could it be regarded as a permanent solution of the University question.

Still Parliament had deliberately determined to protect the supposed vested rights of the Queen's Colleges, and with full knowledge that the Act could be also worked in favour of a Catholic College or Colleges. As a matter of fact, the unfairness to externs was not so great as it seems at first sight. A large part of the examinations—we mean those for deciding Passes—were not competitive; they involved an abstract standard, in regard to which Professors incline to be hard on their own slackers quite as much as upon strangers. And even in the higher and really more important examinations carrying money-prizes, there was always chief credit given to what is known as “unprepared work,” such as composition and unseen passages in literary papers, and, on the scientific side, to the working out of mathematical

problems. In saying this, we intend to minimise the objection, not to ignore it; for there can be no doubt that the extern students must have felt that they were at a disadvantage, and in some cases may have had a serious grievance.

But the fact remains that any patched-up solution of the complex of national grievances must have continued to press upon somebody. Nobody could undo the evils of a few hundred years in a day. Whether Parliament had acted wisely or fairly in giving a University on these lines is one question; whether the Catholic body made the best use of the gift is another. We need not embark upon controversial arguments, but we point out that under the Royal University the crucial competition was not between Extern and Intern students. It was between the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University College. And it is our business in this chapter to trace the history of that competition and the conditions under which it was carried on, without worrying our readers with too many statistics.

Considering the matter from the abstract point of view of educational efficiency, the system of associating in various Boards of Examiners the Professors of the joint Colleges appears to have been singularly advantageous. On the one hand, the students of each College looked to their lectures as a necessary ground of preparation; on the other hand, the presence of alien examiners gave confidence in the standard of the examination.

It is pleasant to record that on the several Boards a spirit of harmony was decidedly the rule. There



were some quarrels undoubtedly, and in some cases acute. Stories are told of contests that were humorous. One of them we may record as the parties concerned are no longer in the land of the living. It was credibly reported that a certain examiner (not a British subject) had, perhaps unconsciously, so favoured a lady candidate in the assignment of marks that, one morning, his privacy was invaded by his colleagues very early. While still in his bed he was got to promise not merely to revise his marking-sheet in a more reasonable spirit, but to do everything that might be required by the infuriated Board of Irishmen. Nor was this the only breeze which enlivened the stern monotony of the Examiner's task. But what is far better worth recording is the indubitable fact that the examinations as a whole were characterized, not merely by good feeling and courtesy, but by an evident spirit of fair play and loyalty to the interests of the University and of the candidates generally. It may be that the present writer was singularly fortunate, but he can aver that in his experience of seventeen or eighteen years he never knew the slightest approach to friction between any of his colleagues. His Board consisted of five, or sometimes six, Examiners, nearly all from different Colleges, trained in at least five different Universities, representing all parties and all faiths and un-faiths, and they were evidently inspired by a common desire to make the examinations do everything that they could and should do for the advancement of learning in Ireland. As to getting out the Results, there was hardly a difference of opinion as

to the merits of the respective candidates, no matter who they were or where they belonged. The marks for the higher honours were independently assigned by the examiners and compared, and what was ever a surprise was the small limit of variation in the judgments passed. This unanimity was partly due to the fact that the examiners, being accustomed to work together, had arrived at a common standard of merit, but this does not detract from the argument that the system was working efficaciously and smoothly.

Keeping closely to our theme which is University College in its relation to the University, it must be admitted that the College was treated with special favour by the Senate, which had full powers as to the administration of the constituting Act and of the Royal Charter. We are far from implying that there was anything unfair or one-sided in this action. The Senators only assumed that the scheme entrusted to them was directed towards providing for a section of people who had been in the past unjustly denied the rights of University education; and they believed that the only way to carry out such a policy was to assist those who were gradually and laboriously building up a real centre of academic life. University College was at their door; they recognized its merits, but they also realized the fact that it was fighting an uphill battle, and that all the help they could give would not be too much to secure its academic efficiency. This view was not confined to the Catholic members of the Senate. The Queen's Colleges were well represented on it by their Presidents and others. Certainly such

Senators would feel it was their strict duty to guard the rights and academic interests of their own Colleges. But where these interests were not involved it would be their natural instinct to support the policy which aimed at developing a Catholic College on real University lines. Apart from higher motives—which we should have no right and no desire to deny them—they would themselves stand to gain more than they would lose by supporting the interests of a great College, especially one in Dublin where they had no conflicting interests. If they smarted under an Act which had dissolved their own University, yet now it remained to them to make the best of what remained.

Considering the matter now from the standpoint of the Catholic Senators, it is obvious that by concentrating their regard upon University College they had to withdraw it from other institutions. When The O'Connor Don's Bill was proposed, and even in the earlier stages of the Government measure, some expectation had been naturally raised that Catholic Colleges and seminaries throughout the country would gain financial relief under a new University Scheme. The case of Maynooth was peculiar. As it enjoyed a public endowment, the Senate considered that any Fellowships assigned it should be—as these assigned to the Queen's Colleges—only partial ones. Four such were reserved for it in the 1882 distribution, but the Board of Trustees and the Bishops decided not to accept them. Consequently the College, though its students had greatly distinguished themselves at the R.U.I. Examinations

in the first few years, ceased to present them. This isolated position was remedied after the establishment of the National University, by the plan of affiliation to it which has, we believe, satisfied the claims and aspirations of that great College.<sup>2</sup>

Then there was the case of the Colleges with lay students. In the provinces several such, for instance, Mount Melleray, Mungret, Rockwell, St. Malachy's Belfast, Killarney, Knockbeg, and no doubt others, were about to send students for the University examinations and were looking for some sort of financial aid for this purpose. But their claims were only slight compared with the Dublin College of Blackrock, then known as the French College. The Fathers, with characteristic forethought and energy, had not merely built up a large and successful school, famous for its progressive spirit, but they had also formed a separate establishment for higher study, as had been done in Tullabeg in the Midlands.<sup>3</sup> They claimed that theirs was in the full sense a University College, with a right to obtain recognition as such from the Senate, together with a share in the Catholic Fellowships to which appointments were to be made.

We have seen in our last chapter how Dr. Walsh, then President of Maynooth (who had become a Senator in April 1883) strongly supported the claim of Fr. Reffé, Prefect of Studies at Blackrock, who had offered himself as candidate for the classical chair.

<sup>2</sup> We show elsewhere how entirely this affiliation was made legally possible by Father Delany's action in 1908. See p. 560. He had been a student of Maynooth in his earlier days.

<sup>3</sup> We do not know that Blackrock had followed Father Delany's initiative in sending his students to the London University examinations, but that is hardly important.

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The reader also knows how Cardinal McCabe and Bishop Woodlock (seemingly actuated by Dr. Walsh's strong representations) also supported his candidature.

In the eyes of the Senate the election had become a matter of principle. They were fully convinced that, unless the Catholic teaching was concentrated in a single institution, there would be no chance of having a real University College, even in embryo. For this reason they were practically unanimous in the election of Fr. Gerard Hopkins.

This incident caused not merely disappointment but bitter controversy, into which we prefer not to enter, although we think it necessary when relating the action of the Senate to lay certain facts before our readers. Dr. Walsh, then and much more afterwards as Archbishop of Dublin, made it clear that he not only thought Blackrock had been badly treated—that was natural enough—but that he was also entirely out of sympathy with the Royal University or with its policy in regard to University College.

He wrote: "My view rested altogether on the belief that the expedient of concentrating the Fellowships in one College was not necessary to enable our Catholic students to score a record of brilliant success. How splendidly this belief was justified by the results may be seen from the marvellous triumphs scored in face of the heaviest odds, by Blackrock students."<sup>4</sup> Moreover, on his appointment to the See

<sup>4</sup> *Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in Education.* By the Archbishop of Dublin. 1890. p. 271.

of Dublin, His Grace had gone to Blackrock and addressed the students of the College, formally condoling with them not merely upon the refusal of the Senate to help them in their work for the examinations, but on the fact that "their rival candidates had been prepared for the examinations by the examiners themselves."

This view of the Archbishop, though never explicitly retracted, was considerably modified in later years—as is seen for instance by his enthusiastic support of the Catholic Scholarships which were tenable only at University College—but in these earlier years there was a widespread belief among the friends of the College that His Grace had contracted a strong prejudice against it. Those who knew the Archbishop best thought differently, including Father Delany, who had been his personal friend for many years. The Archbishop was too high-minded a man to be swayed by petty or unworthy motives.

If we take the financial arrangements as to the Fellowships, it is clear that, considering the grant to the University by itself (that is, without attending to the grants to the Queen's Colleges which remained untouched), University College was treated very generously. Of the twenty-eight Fellowships allotted, fourteen (afterwards fifteen) fell to the College, and with the provision that these Fellowships were paid in full, i.e., £400 per annum, whereas the other half going to the Professors of the Queen's Colleges only secured to them the balance required to raise their College salaries to the same scale. Thus the amount paid them by the University averaged only about £80

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or £100. This arrangement meant that of the emoluments which were not thrown open to general competition among Intern and Extern students, above four-fifths, or £6,000<sup>5</sup> came as an indirect endowment to the College, whereas less than £1,400 went elsewhere. It will be remembered that the whole income to the University, exclusive of fees, totalled no more than £20,000.

It was not merely by its Fellowships that the Senate was able to promote the work of University College. As time went on, the work of examining was so heavy, on account of the large number of candidates, that most of the Pass work had to be delegated to Assistant Examiners paid by the University and working (as is the usual practice of other Universities) under the immediate supervision of the Professors, who alone are responsible to the Senate for the Results. Appointments to these Assistantships were of course made on the dual system; and on the Catholic side, the Senate determined that they should go in large part to the Lecturers or Tutors of University College. As the College funds did not permit of high salaries, the fees for examinations, though not large, were helpful to such assistant members of the Staff, and all the more because the position carried with it some slight prestige. This system was no doubt adopted, among other reasons, because it enabled scholars of promise to prepare themselves

<sup>5</sup> In one sense this money did not go to the Fellows entirely for their Professorial work. They were also officials of the University itself, and had arduous extra-Collegiate duties. Father Delany himself regarded the indirect College endowment at not more than £4,500.

for prizes like Studentships or Junior Fellowships—and in not a few cases ultimately for Chairs either under the Royal University or its successor.

It cannot be stated too often that no one in the Senate or out of it failed to recognize the weakness of the above makeshift for financing a large and central College. The system was adopted, with its drawbacks, because under the Act of Parliament it appeared to be the only possible plan for making good educationally. And the Royal University did make good. So did University College, and the Medical School which was financed upon identical principles. Owing to the policy of the Senate the success of the Dublin College and School became more and more marked, until the point was reached which drove the authorities to substitute a real University for what was after all but a shadow.

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Long after the controversy about the Fellowships had died down, and the system instituted by the Senate was in running order, the good relations between it and University College continued to exist. Chief Baron Palles was appointed to the Senate by the Crown on the death of the Earl of Granard, in December 1889. He and Father Delany became perhaps the two most active and influential Senators. Palles, as a lawyer, had been necessarily an alumnus of Trinity College, but he was also a Jesuit pupil. His Catholicity was intense, and from his early days at the Bar he had been recognized as no mean champion of his religion. During his career he had learned to deplore the defects in Catholic secular



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education, but he also retained a marked enthusiasm for the Jesuit Order and everything which concerned it. He was the real Founder of the Clongowes Union and remained its President almost till the close of his life. We shall refer later to his action in regard to the Sodality of University College.

Moreover, it must be said that, if Palles used all his influence in favour of University College, that influence was no ordinary asset. His strict legal mind and unswerving sense of justice was only equalled by his standing as an authority on law, recognized as it was not merely in Dublin but in London where he received the rare honour of a Privy Councillorship. His position as Lord Chief Baron—he was the last person to hold the title—ranked him only as inferior to the Lord Chief Justice, while his personality made him an outstanding figure in legal circles and in society.

We have referred to Father Delany's own prestige upon the Senate. He brought to the board a broad knowledge of University organization which was shared by few Irishmen outside of Trinity College. His personal gifts were of a kind specially suited for the Senate; he was ready of speech, clear in exposition, and had a capacity for carrying conviction, and if need be conciliation. His very manner gave the impression of dignity, devotedness and broad-mindedness.

There were other Catholic members of the Senate whose names should be mentioned here, as strong supporters of the Dublin College, or we should rather say, of the principle of concentration. We

shall name two medical members, Sir Francis Cruise and Sir Christopher Nixon. The former, an old Clongownian like Palles, and having a special affection for the Jesuit Order, was also convinced that it was the duty of Senators to do all that justice permitted to help the work of a real teaching College. Sir Christopher was also of the same mind, though as Dean of the Catholic Medical School it was his special function to act as the representative of that institution and to see that its interests were safeguarded. But even in this special capacity he was brought into a certain contact with University College and was disposed to view it sympathetically. But the Catholic Senator to whom the College and School had most ground for gratitude was Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam, mentioned above as taking the seat vacated by Dr. Walsh's resignation. Both in the Senate and outside of it His Grace made no secret of his determined support; and this attitude was known to rest not upon any personal predilection so much as upon public grounds of educational policy. His influence, too, was great; he was a prelate of outstanding talent and strongly-marked independence. Therefore Father Delany valued the confidence and the support of this Archbishop and consulted him on many matters of importance.<sup>6</sup>

Among non-Catholics of special influence the College found a firm and friendly supporter in Dr. Hamilton, President of Belfast College, the only

<sup>6</sup> It is hardly necessary, considering what is said elsewhere about the relations of Dr. Molloy with University College, to state that as a Senator he showed himself a staunch and loyal friend of the College.

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College in serious competition with Dublin. As the College was Presbyterian and the President a minister of the same denomination, he might easily have taken a position of antagonism and have caused trouble or embarrassment when anything of a controversial nature cropped up. But he was a man of independent mind and readily fell in with the feeling that prevailed in the Senate that it was their duty to do all that they could properly to strengthen a young and struggling establishment which promised to become a valuable seat of higher education.

\*           \*           \*           \*           \*

And now we propose to add something about those whose function it was to administer the rulings of the Senate. Owing to what may be called the dual character of the University, as recognizing a Catholic College in Dublin on a par with the group of Queen's Colleges in the country, there were two permanent Head officials acting conjointly. As representing the non-Catholic element Dr. (afterwards Sir James) Meredith, a barrister, was installed along with Dr. D. B. Dunne, who had been for some years a Professor in the old Catholic University. The former was in every sense the leading spirit, being a man of indomitable energy combined with a very masterful character. He was a strong Protestant Churchman, a graduate of Trinity, and one of the supreme officials of the Masonic body in Ireland. But beyond all doubt he was a man of high principle, and though not supremely tactful in dealing with those whom he wrongly considered his subordinates, yet no one could for one instant question his sincerity or his heartfelt

devotion to the University. His relations with the College were interesting. Having been brought up in a narrow school of thought he could hardly be expected to have sympathy with Catholic interests as such, and certainly he was by no means predisposed in favour of the Jesuit Order or a College under its control. His official attitude was unexceptionable; nor would he in any case have thought of opposing the Senate or showing any dissatisfaction with its policy. But, moreover, Sir James was an open-minded man, and after a few years' experience of his work, he made no secret of the fact that his contact with the Dublin Professors and especially the Jesuit Fellows of the University had resulted in a complete change of view as to the character of the Order and the value of Catholic education. Indeed, he gave a very practical proof of his confidence in University College as a school of mental training. Though his son and namesake<sup>7</sup> was then studying Philosophy at Trinity College, Sir James, out of respect for Father Finlay as a Professor of Metaphysics, expressed a wish that he should follow the Jesuit's course, and thus qualify for competing for the Studentship and gold medal which were offered by the Senate in Mental Philosophy. He added, however, that he hoped his son would not be affected in regard to his religion, and expressed the fullest confidence that no attempt would be made through philosophical studies to detach him from the Protestant faith.<sup>8</sup> The young

<sup>7</sup> Now Mr. Justice Meredith of the High Court in the Irish Free State.

<sup>8</sup> We may refer our readers here to an incident that happened later. It is recorded on p. 575.

student was successful in winning the coveted honours. He, however, never adopted the Peripatetic system taught in all Catholic schools, but remained—as he has several times shown in his published writings—a staunch Kantian. He gravitated towards nationalist politics, but did not, we understand, adopt the Catholic Faith.

This act of confidence in the genuine value of the teaching at University College was typical of the good feeling that existed throughout the University, a feeling which not merely helped the growth of the College but also powerfully contributed to a final solution of the University question.

It is hardly necessary, but it is a pleasure, to refer to Dr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) McGrath, who succeeded to the Catholic Secretaryship,<sup>8a</sup> as a strong friend and supporter, in every way consistent with his position, of University College. He was especially a staunch friend of Fr. Delany, with whom he had been associated all his life. Like him he was a native of the county of Carlow; and he had commenced his markedly successful career as a student at Tullabeg under Fr. Delany, being one of those pupils who took honours in the examinations of the University of London. A man of less masterful character than his colleague, he was always fortunate in his relations with him. His work was cut out separately, but there was a complete understanding between the two Secretaries—indeed, the younger man's methods tended to assimilate to those of his senior. And on a few occasions by his tact he smoothed over diffi-

<sup>8a</sup> Upon the death of Dr. Dunne, in February, 1892.

culties which might have resulted from Sir James Meredith's brusqueness.

Such were then the conditions under which University College worked and thrived and expanded. The facts we have related prove that the conditions were favourable to its development. But it must not be forgotten that true academical progress has to depend in the last resort not upon external but upon internal conditions. The most that the University could do was to provide a field in which young Catholic Ireland could display its intellectual prowess. It was evident that from the day of Newman's efforts—which, noble as they were, could do little more than show up the nakedness of the prospect and perhaps plant one or two foundation stones—no real opportunity had been granted to the great bulk of Irishmen. We should try to view this history not as a mere experiment in schoolmastering but as a vital point in the development of a people learning how to come into their own heritage. This means reading a bare narrative "between the lines"; and perhaps a hundred years hence our story will be better understood than even by our own generation. For truly University College was as one fishing in troubled waters.

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We have still to try and trace the course of events within the College. When later the social side of College life comes under review, we shall be reminded that mere book study, and especially study carried on for examination purposes, does not constitute the whole of University training; and we hope to prove that, as time went on, the students themselves learned the

importance of that "friction of mind with mind" which is more often talked of than quite understood. But, here as elsewhere, we have to guard against exaggeration. We believe that a tendency sprang up somewhat to underrate the period of mere 'grind.' In particular it has been asserted that during the presidency of Father Carbery, the nine years from 1888 to 1897, too much stress was laid upon examinations and too little countenance shown to Debates, Meetings of College Societies, and Social functions. We do not deny wholly this allegation; indeed there is truth in it. Father Carbery was a conservative of the old school, much less acquainted with the needs and aspirations of modern students than Father Delany. But when dealing with the relations of the College to the University, it is right to point out that there was, under the circumstances, a good side to Fr. Carbery's strict attention to Results. He saw that, for the College as well as for the individual, a great deal depended upon success, especially in the Honours Examinations. Of course opinions will differ, nor is it our affair to decide all debatable questions. But justice requires that due credit should be given to those who determined that, at no matter what cost, men of talent should have the opportunity of reaching the highest honours they were capable of winning in the University. Such a policy was an expensive one at a time when the College funds were low. It often meant procuring specialist teaching from outside for a single student, and at a fee that was nearly prohibitive. It was at this period and upon these lines that the College definitely made its

mark in the academical world, and that the students as well as the staff acquired a new confidence in their College.

There was one outstanding event which seemed to put the College in a new light; in 1891 (Fr. Carbery's third year of the Presidency) of the five Studentships awarded, three fell to St. Stephen's Green, won respectively by H. C. McWeeney in Mathematics, Alexander Blaney in Biology, and James Smith in History. Previous to this, during a period of six years, only a single Studentship had been won (i.e. E. J. McWeeney in Modern Languages); again in each of the years following, 1889 and 1890, one Studentship (Denis J. Coffey in Biology and William Magennis in Philosophy). So that in the succeeding year to win the majority of these awards was a new sort of achievement.<sup>9</sup> Henceforth it was a common thing for the College to carry off in a single year two or even three of these prizes; in 1899 the *only* three and in 1904 the *only* four; until the climax was reached in the last two years of the University, 1908 and 1909, when only one out of eight awarded fell away from the College to a Catholic woman student.<sup>10</sup> We have alluded to this subject because the Studentship examination was the highest test of the teaching imparted in the College. That a good standard of answering was maintained at these examinations

<sup>9</sup> It is also noticeable that the two remaining studentships of this year fell to Belfast, henceforth the only real competitor to Dublin.

<sup>10</sup> Miss Eveleen Nicholls, of Loreto College, Dublin. Eight other studentships in all were awarded to women.



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follows from the fact that so many of the awards were withheld. On the other hand, the highest distinction of all, the Junior Fellowships, a large number of which fell to University College, represented a more mature scholarship, requiring no doubt a good foundation, yet more largely depending upon individual research. We give in an Appendix a comparative summary of the Honour Results of the Examinations in Arts, showing the gradual and commanding success obtained by University College.

A large number of the Honours naturally fell to members of the Jesuit Order who were freely entered for the University degrees and prizes. But only a few of the Scholastics would be actually in residence in the College; and the rest of them had to carry on their ecclesiastical training in some Jesuit Seminary and were rarely permitted to attend lectures at St. Stephen's Green. Such an arrangement would not have been possible in a normal or teaching University; and, as a matter of fact, under the new and improved existing system, Jesuit Scholastics are now required, like other students, to follow their several courses in the new College. At the period under consideration the students in question were entered upon the College Roll, and, as we have said, were entered for examinations as members of the College. Of course it is obvious that this exceptional arrangement considerably helped to enlarge the list of Results (which indeed would have been sufficiently striking without any such contribution), and for that reason we considered it necessary to allude to the matter. Anyhow, when the matter was referred, as it had to

be, for the Senate's decision, they decided that, considering the unusual connection of the College with the Order, the Jesuit students could be entered as members of the College without necessarily attending its lectures.

It may be expected that something should be added in this Chapter about the students in their personal relations with the University. Naturally there were occasions when friction arose with the authorities; and as the corporate feeling grew stronger there were times when the undergraduates expressed their feelings much too strongly. What made it difficult was that, when anything in the shape of a demonstration was expected, the College bands were augmented from the large numbers of students who were not really connected with the University. As to the Medicals, who were often notorious for their propensity to "larking," all students of Cecilia Street, even if not matriculated, thought they had a perfect right to enter into the spirit of any fun that was going, and at times what they thought "fun" was not a little serious for other people.

The Secretaries of the University, or at any rate, Sir James Meredith, was not exactly of a mind to conciliate a noisy and refractory crowd of students. He was not really unpopular—far from it<sup>11</sup>—but it could not be denied that his manner was on the pompous and autocratic side. In his eyes it was verging on sacrilege to interrupt the august proceedings when the Chancellor himself conferred degrees

<sup>11</sup> Sir James was commonly referred to among the Undergraduates as "Sunny Jim."

or certificates of passing examinations. It is always understood that on such occasions students make their voices heard; but it must be admitted that at times things went too far in the direction of organized rowdyism.

We need not at this point go into details about those more serious and untoward events that occurred in the days when the sands of the Royal University were running out. We are satisfied here to have sufficiently proved, as we hope, that, at least during the greater part of their common existence, the two sister institutions worked harmoniously, with a minimum of that friction which in all human undertakings appears to be inevitable.

# APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

Comparative List of Honours gained by University College and the Queen's Colleges for sixteen years, *i.e.* 1894 to 1909.

## A.—FIRST CLASS Distinctions only in the Arts Courses.

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	Total	Average for 16 Years	Average for last 5 Years
University College	45	37	47	49	40	32	33	31	26	34	38	41	43	58	99	39	702	43.8	56
Queen's College, Belfast	29	34	18	20	28	27	28	25	19	14	14	21	7	18	22	16	330	21.2	16.8
Queen's College, Galway	8	8	2	11	5	10	9	17	11	5	14	7	6	7	5	5	130	7.1	6
Queen's College, Cork	6	4	2	2	1	—	—	—	2	3	1	1	2	2	0	0	26	1.6	1

## B.—Total Number of Distinctions in the Arts Courses.

	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	Total	Average for 16 Years	Average for last 5 Years
University College	87	81	87	82	77	55	57	63	65	50	63	76	97	132	163	129	1364	85.2	119.4
Queen's College, Belfast	72	70	74	63	65	70	67	58	40	44	40	45	54	50	55	50	917	57	50.8
Queen's College, Galway	48	25	14	25	14	18	32	26	23	24	33	24	20	14	5	17	362	22.6	16
Queen's College, Cork	12	15	5	7	3	2	5	5	5	6	6	9	9	7	0	2	98	6	5.4

**C.—We add the following statistics regarding the Studentships, to which reference was made in the text above (p. 149). In all 27 were awarded by the Royal University, as follows:—**

University College ...	...	...	14
Queen's College, Belfast	...	...	10
Queen's College, Galway	...	...	1
Queen's College, Cork	...	...	2

**D.—The only two Studentships in Biological Science awarded by the University; as well as the only two Gold Medals awarded for Latin Verse, and four of the six Gold Medals awarded for English Prose Composition, were won by Students of University College.**

## CHAPTER VI.

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### THE COLLEGE AND THE SCHOOL.



## THE COLLEGE AND THE SCHOOL

It is imperative to devote a chapter of this history of University College to its relation with the Medical School of the Catholic University. Those who had personal knowledge of the College for any length of time are aware how close was the connection between the two institutions from every possible standpoint, academic or social. And our present volume, which is an attempt to record events truly, will do nothing if it does not bring into high relief the fact that but for the School and its inmates, University College would have formed a less important chapter in Irish history than we claim for it.

In the Robertson Report, which we shall show later was a document of much importance,<sup>1</sup> the statement occurs, "To all intents the School at Cecilia Street should be accounted as the Medical Faculty of University College." This statement, plausible as it sounded at the time when it was written, is false and misleading if taken in any literal sense.<sup>2</sup> It was based upon superficial knowledge of

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XIV., p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> This false statement was repeated *twice* in the House of Commons. On 31st March, when introducing his University Bill, Mr. Birrell said of the school in Cecilia Street: "It may be said to form a medical faculty and a medical college *under the headship of Dr. Delany*" (<sup>1</sup>). And on the 11th May, during the debate upon the Second Reading, Mr. James Campbell, who, as member for T.C.D., ought to have known better, stated: "this (the Medical School) as Mr. Birrell knows, *has been the medical faculty of the Catholic College.*"



the case, and was merely the view of persons concerned practically with the problem of reconstruction. When some years later the solution had been found, it undoubtedly began to be true that the Medical School had to be treated as a Faculty of the new College. But speaking of any year previous to 1909, unless the allegation made by the Royal Commissioners be first reduced to its due proportions, it would be impossible to give any clear account of the real relations which existed between the School and the College. For it is our task to show that those relations were close and mutually advantageous; but the secret of the sympathy and co-operation which we shall describe was due precisely to the fact that the two partners in it were officially and actually independent of one another.

If there had been at any time any disposition on the part of St. Stephen's Green to claim, we do not say authority, but even academic priority over Cecilia Street, the result would have been not merely disastrous, but laughable. The fact was that the Medical School, as coming down in direct succession from Newman's University, in every way unaltered and unaffected by developments or changes in the Faculty of Arts, was in a position of strength and prestige. If there was any Cinderella in the family she was not the lady living near the river. All that University College really had from the famous Catholic University, besides an idea, was a building—fine as a mansion, poor as a seat of learning. It is always true that, quite as much as her elder sister, this little new-comer looked to the past as well as

to the future. She too felt the promptings of *noblesse oblige*. It was not merely the name of Newman, glorious as it was throughout and far beyond the English-speaking world, that touched the hearts of Irishmen; it was also, perhaps far more, the fact that the establishment of the Catholic University, by Irish Bishops and people, at the cost of heavy sacrifices, had been the first expression of their nationhood as won by O'Connell just a quarter of a century earlier.

Thus the feeling of Father Delany and his colleagues, his professors and students, was that, in so far as they dated from the University of Newman and Cullen, they too were the inheritors of a glorious tradition. Yet their position differed radically from that of Cecilia Street. Their task was not one of continuation, not even of ordinary reconstruction; it was that of complete rebuilding, of founding anew. The mere fact of handing over St. Stephen's Green to a Religious Order necessarily involved a new departure, not a mere resuming of older activities. Every Religious Order has its own traditions, its own methods, its own organization. This is only what is called in civil life *esprit de corps*, and so long as men are human they will tend to run in grooves. From the practical standpoint, the new College wanted to be free from any restrictions that might hamper its work, or confine it to methods that had *de facto* failed. Its authorities looked to the Royal University for support, legal, financial, academic. If we are to tell the truth, the Catholic University did not henceforth exist, except in so far as it existed—and that

quite emphatically—in the Medical School. Dr. Molloy,<sup>3</sup> was called Rector of the Catholic University, and in that capacity he occupied a goodly portion of the house known as 86 St. Stephen's Green (the old Catholic University). But he led his own life, on excellent terms with the College, but really as a guest among friendly strangers. He lectured on Physics, no doubt, but to outsiders, not to the students. Occasionally he was invited to functions of the College or its societies, and was always welcome there; also he charmingly entertained at dinner and breakfast, among other friends, members of the Jesuit Community or the Lay Staff. *Voilà tout!*

The above outline will make it clear how the Professors and students of the Medical School would have resented any attempt to designate or regard their time-honoured habitation as a Faculty of University College. And anyone who was connected with the latter would certainly testify that nothing was further from the mind of University College than any sort of pretension to dominate the School or sway its fortunes.

While it is no part of our undertaking to trace the history of the Medical School, which we hope may be done independently, we have to say something about its position and its work. The change which brought about the existence of University College, we mean the establishment of the Royal University, profoundly affected the character of the School. Previously the students had no access to

<sup>3</sup> We have quoted Dr. Casey's racy apophthegm on the Catholic University as represented by Dr. Molloy, p. 87.

**Medical Degrees**, properly so called. They could enter neither at Trinity, nor in the Queen's University, but had to content themselves with taking out a Licence to practise by passing the Conjoint examinations held by the Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians. The much-coveted Fellowships of these institutions were no doubt open to them, but only a comparative handful could find the time and money required for obtaining such honours. No doubt the ordinary qualification given by the two Irish Colleges was one that stood high in the Medical world—perhaps as high as the similar one offered in England, and certainly higher than the (non-University) Licence obtainable at Edinburgh.

But clearly such a system, which made a marked disparity between the courses open to the non-Catholics normally leading to medical degrees, and those open to the Catholic University without any such prospect, must have had a dwarfing effect upon study. The students were satisfied somehow to scrape through, and if they succeeded in this in a decent period—without becoming “chronics” at the examination tables—they felt very “good,” and had little inducement to aim at anything better or higher. What Cecilia Street could boast of was a toughness in keeping up the fight for national freedom in education. It had borne the heat and burden of the day nobly, and its record of thirty years of struggle had given it a position of honour in the Irish Catholic world.

And now that a new era was opening out in the struggle (for that was by no means ended) it was

soon evident that the Medical School was going to win new laurels. It so happened that at the time we are writing about, dating from the early 'eighties, the School was blessed with a staff which boded well. The younger members in particular, those on whom the future would depend, were not merely men of marked talent, but were also full of enthusiasm for their work and strongly determined that their Alma Mater should make the best of her newly-acquired opportunities. Dr. Ambrose Birmingham, the Professor of Anatomy, had been made Registrar, a position which gave him disciplinary charge of the students, though indeed he wished to be regarded rather in the light of a father or a friend than merely a master. The fact that about a year or two before his premature death he was appointed as Extern Examiner in the University of Cambridge, is some guarantee of his learning and ability.<sup>4</sup> Associated with him was Dr. Denis Coffey, Professor of Physiology. Not having been very long qualified, his influence with the students was such that as a power for maintaining and improving the spirit of study in the School, he was ranked (perhaps just because his direct authority was less) as more important than the Registrar, along with whom he was known to work as "right-hand-man." We should also mention among the younger staff Mr. P. J. Fagan, who as a lecturer in Physics, exercised considerable influence, especially in regard to the University Sodality in which he took a special interest. He, too, died rather young.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Anthony

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Birmingham died much regretted, early in 1905. We reprint at the end of this chapter an appreciation of his work.

<sup>5</sup> In the year 1909.

Roche was perhaps too much of an idealist for medical students, but for the zeal with which he applied to his work and the deep interest he took in the welfare of the students, spiritual as well as material, he was certainly held in no small respect.<sup>6</sup> Later, Dr. Edmund McWeeney was appointed to the Chair of Pathology (later again of Bacteriology). His eminence as a scientist gave him a peculiar position of authority, and his talent for teaching as well as research was entirely devoted to promoting the efficiency of the School, in which as a native of the City of Dublin he took especial pride.

But our reason for mentioning the above names is not so much to laud them as in order to explain the strong bond of friendship which united the School with University College. Every one of these men did his best to promote an alliance which they knew would do great good on both sides. But more than that, they had themselves been among the earliest alumni of University College, McWeeney having entered at St. Stephen's Green a few months before the College started on its new career, Coffey being one of the earliest to enrol his name on the Register of the new College. These two had indeed been among the earliest triumphs of the Arts Faculty, McWeeney having taken the first Studentship won by the College (in 1884) in Modern Languages, and Dr. Coffey (a few years later than his M.B. Degree) one in Biology. Besides the fact that they were thus enabled to travel abroad and solidify their medical

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Roche spent his energies in trying to get the students to support the "Medical Scientific Society," of which he was founder. In the early period this had been very uphill work.

learning, the College in St. Stephen's Green had become to them a second Alma Mater. Moreover, the experience they had gained through the widening out of their studies by their distinguished Arts course, taught them how unreal was the so-called "practical" view of education which rules out all that is not professional in a narrow sense.

Thus they were not disposed to view with disfavour the new College, but rather welcomed the prospect of a re-birth, not merely as a benefit to their country, but more distinctly to their own profession. Indeed they could hardly conceal from themselves that the one kind of higher education which for recent years in Ireland had been in Catholic hands had been sadly confined and crippled from want of that very association with other types of learning which was looked for in the University College.

Looking back over the years it is easy to see how many causes there might have been, under the circumstances narrated, for friction, rivalry amounting to jealousy on one side or the other, possibly on both—anything rather than a spirit of harmony and mutual support. But if we seek to analyse the reasons for the happy alliance which incontestably existed between Cecilia Street and St. Stephen's Green, we may judge that one potent factor in the situation was the knowledge that they were fighting a common battle. Everybody felt that the existing phase in the 'eighties and the early 'nineties could only be transient. What the ultimate solution would be no one could then know, but all were aware that exclusive privilege for one section of Irishmen must

come to an end sooner or later. Without perhaps definitely foreseeing that the two Colleges were destined to be united in a common national organization, they felt that any solution must include the two great Faculties of Arts and Medicine; and in whatever degree one of them grew stronger, ultimately the reaction would benefit the other. Therefore, apart from all else, policy or the principle of self-protection tended to counteract any narrowing spirit of self-sufficiency which so often leads to mutual suspicion if not to open strife.

On the other hand there was no illusion on the part of the Arts Faculty. They knew only too well what a difficult task was in front of them. They knew that to produce a real University College with a real University atmosphere, that sort of hope which Irishmen had longingly conceived and Newman eloquently fostered, could not be the work of a day. They knew, too, that if Cecilia Street possessed and could only possess a culture which was relatively narrow, yet the school represented a long tradition and could boast a worthy and well-beloved parenthood. They knew that these Medicals—at times no doubt accused of being somewhat wild and bohemian—yet were young men of good Irish stock, well talented and well-conditioned. Moreover, these had begun to enter into their heritage, were already savouring the taste of real academic life, and would, by mixing with the younger students of the College, help them to acquire that indefinable attitude towards men and ideas, that manly feeling of individual mental responsibility,



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which the world rightly associates with the name of a University.

It will be remembered, too, that members of the College and of the School met upon ground common to both, in the Royal University. As was explained in our last chapter for instance, in the Senate and the Standing Committee, Sir Christopher Nixon, Sir Francis Cruise, and Dr. Cox,<sup>6a</sup> who had the interests of Cecilia Street specially at heart, were brought into constant contact with the President of University College and his very staunch supporters. The Professoriate of the Arts and Medical Faculties, it is true, worked to a large extent separately in conducting their respective examinations; yet even here there was occasionally some intermingling of the Faculties; and, of course, in the larger Board meetings they met regularly though not frequently. But the mere fact of belonging to a common University, even such as it was, must have promoted that feeling of fraternity which existed also on far stronger grounds. Nothing brings people together more closely than work, and work under the Royal could be very strenuous. We have already said that, even where the deepest interests were at variance, the Professoriate of the Royal worked harmoniously, and there was nothing in its working to cause antagonism between the College and the School, but everything to keep them together.

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But what concerns us far more deeply than the policy or action of the authorities is the attitude of the

<sup>6a</sup> Appointed in 1895.

respective groups of students. About that there is no doubt whatever. There may have been moments of coolness arising out of a temporary conflict about a point of honour or of interest. But the history of the College shows that, speaking broadly, nothing could have been happier than their union in regard to all the interests of student life. We find it in their nationalist sympathies, in the athletic field, in the Sodality, in most of the College Societies, in a word in all that *camaraderie*, be it grave or gay, which gives colour and tone to youthful activities.

It is proper to mention here that no one at University College was more anxious to promote the *entente cordiale* with Cecilia Street than Professor Darlington, as Dean of Studies. Even before his period of office he had been closely in touch with Drs. Birmingham and Coffey, and was fully aware of the influence they wielded with the students and its salutary effects. In fact his personal friendship with them both powerfully contributed to that growing disposition for the two institutions to look to one another for mutual help and inspiration. For a short time, moreover, he had by tact and perseverance to counteract a tendency which, under Father Carbery's presidency, was sometimes discerned, to regard social contact with the Medical School as a danger to the younger and more unsophisticated students of University College. Of course there were plausible reasons for taking a narrow view of student life, but it never gained support among the Professors, whether lay or clerical. And Fr. Darlington's position soon became stronger. Early in 1902, Fr. Carbery, who had

been nominally Dean of the Medical School, resigned, and the Bishops as Governors of the School, wisely appointed Professor Darlington to the position, no doubt acting under the initiative of Dr. Birmingham. This also gave him a place on the Council of Management; and the new appointment was thoroughly approved both by the Staff and the students. Father Darlington threw himself into the work in a way that had been impossible for a somewhat infirm old man like Fr. Carbery to attempt; in fact it is difficult to understand, even in the case of the younger man, how he could find time to combine these external activities with his position at St. Stephen's Green. But, as a matter of fact, he soon became known to the students of Cecilia Street, often individually, as a new devoted friend and helper.

One matter in which he co-operated was in starting the Cecilian dinners which were intended to bring the Medical Staff and their students into closer touch. Incidentally also, these helped to unite the Medical School with the Staff of St. Stephen's Green, at least in so far as members of the latter could be entertained at the dinners as guests. We read that on January 22, 1903, the function came off at the Dolphin Hotel, that it was very successful, being attended by Dr. McGrath, Sir Christopher Nixon, Dr. Coffey (who complimented "St. Stephen's" for the good work it was doing), Messrs. A. O'Carroll, F. Kearney, B.L., O'Reilly, Murphy, and A. N. McLaughlin, who sang 'Let Erin Remember.'

\* \* \* \* \*

But it must not be concluded that there was no

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more formal relationship than that of good feeling between the Medical Faculty and St. Stephen's Green. From the first it was apparent that there was to be a real co-operation even in the sphere of College work. Inasmuch as a Faculty of Arts must always include scientific teaching and research (though of course to the exclusion of purely medical subjects) there was necessarily common ground in the programmes of the two Faculties. In fact, in the professional programme the whole First Year's Course consisted of preliminary training in Physics, Chemistry, and Biology, all of which subjects formed part of the Arts curriculum laid down by the Royal University, and were accordingly provided at University College. In order, therefore to avoid duplicating lectures, especially as the space at Cecilia Street was inordinately crowded, it was arranged that the whole of the First Year's work for Cecilia Street University students should be carried on at St. Stephen's Green. The arrangement was perfect except for the mile or so of distance which separated the two localities. But the result was that all the boys coming up from the country to study medicine at the Catholic University School, made their first acquaintance with student life, not there, but at St. Stephen's Green. Having thus become thoroughly acquainted with that College, its staff, and students, it was but natural that they should feel at home with the place; and this cause, probably more than any other, as new generations of students followed one another, kept the two centres in closest touch.

There is another point to be borne in mind, and

that is the custom that prevailed among many of the best medical students to carry on their Arts course concurrently with their Medical, and therefore frequently to attend lectures at the College. We have seen that Drs. Coffey, McWeeney, and Blaney took even Studentships in Arts, and, as for taking a mere Arts Degree, it was quite a common thing. This practice obviously formed a very special bond between the School and the College. It has to be admitted that only a section, and it was always a growing section, of the Cecilia Street men took the Royal University course in Medicine. A proportion of the men, not always the most talented, were satisfied to follow the older system of taking the qualifications of the Joint-board of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons. But still they naturally were drawn in with their comrades to debates or meetings of various kinds which were being constantly held in the Aula Maxima or some of the lecture-rooms at St. Stephen's Green. In the case of many non-University students there was a further link with the clerical staff of University College, in that they had been educated in Jesuit Schools.

In our later chapters dealing with various aspects of student life, we shall have plenty of evidence regarding the friendly relations of the College with the Medical Faculty. These relations were not at all periods of the same intensity or even the same kind—but upon the whole they tended to become stronger as time proceeded and things became riper for the settlement which finally united the two groups in a complete solidarity.

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At this moment we are considering the matter on its more organic side, for it is desirable to show that the connection between the two institutions from the start was not merely a matter of sentiment. A formal connection, we have seen, was set up on the part of the Staff, at least as regards the First Medicals. On the one hand in regard to Chemistry, in the early period there was no distinct Professor for the College. Professor Campbell of the Medical School had his teaching laboratory at St. Stephen's Green, where he came to give lectures in his subject to the First Medicals. On the other hand, in regard to Physics, the opposite plan was followed, i.e., Professor Huston Stewart of the College gave lectures at Cecilia Street to the more advanced students.

After what has been said it is hardly necessary to reiterate how important for our history are the facts recorded in the above sketch. But may we insist that it was nothing more than the solidarity of aim and the co-operation of these two sister Colleges which ultimately made it necessary to provide an ampler field for the higher education of Catholic Ireland. In the Medical School was the good material for building up a real and complete University, but it wanted to be brought more closely into touch with non-vocational culture. On the other hand, University College was too limited in numbers, too weak in resources, and too little versed in the tradition and experience of corporate life, to stand alone. It was therefore the combination of elements, outwardly diverse but instinct with common ideas and aims, that created

at last (really although not nominally) a Catholic University.

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We add here a note on the career of Ambrose Birmingham, M.D., F.R.U.I. (See p. 162)<sup>7</sup>

Ambrose Birmingham was born at Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo, in 1864, and was educated at Castleknock. The entire family of five brothers adopted medicine as their profession—all with success. Ambrose was the only one to devote himself exclusively to the scientific aspect of the subject. He never went into practice. From his very earliest student days, he displayed remarkable working power which he turned almost exclusively into the study of Anatomy, at which he at once became proficient. The writer of these lines, a contemporary of his at Cecilia Street, well remembers the first time he ever spoke to Birmingham, who was bending over his "subject" an "upper" which he was in the act of finishing right down to the insertions of the finger-tendons, at a period when the writer in common with the other "juniors" had hardly got beyond reflecting the skin of their "part." This was in 1882.

Birmingham threw just enough of his marvellous energy into medicine, surgery, and midwifery, to enable him to get "through" in record time, first in the College of Physicians and then in the "Royal." At the several Examinations in the University he obtained first place and exhibitions. He took his M.B. in 1887. There were seventy-five men "up" of whom twenty-five passed, and about six were "recommended for honours"—and had to go through the entire examination over again. The "final" then included Anatomy and Physiology—the subjects of the present "third." Of the six who went up for honours, three "fainted by the way," and retired, leaving three to finish the examination. Birmingham was first, and the writer one of the two other "survivors." He well remembers how Birmingham used to try to teach his competitors their Anatomy as they walked up and down under the Colonnade.

<sup>7</sup> By Dr. E. J. McWeeney in *St. Stephen's*, April, 1905.

No sooner was he qualified than he was appointed to the Professorship of Anatomy vacated by Dr. (now Sir C.) Nixon, who succeeded to the Chair of Medicine, formerly held by Dr. Lyons. Shortly afterwards he became Registrar to the Medical Faculty. A new era now opened for the Cecilia Street School. The dissecting room was cleared of the idlers who used to congregate there, "round-the-room" classes were started, beautiful dissections were made and put up as permanent preparations, and the lectures were illustrated by diagrams in coloured chalks—diagrams to which he devoted an enormous amount of time and labour, and which were singularly lucid and instructive. Birmingham's peculiarly methodical and businesslike spirit gradually permeated the whole school. Punctuality and "good value" became the order of the day. Students began to throng in. Hard work, and the winning of Exhibitions at the Royal became popular, whilst dissipation and idleness were reduced to a minimum.

The Scientific Chairs as they fell vacant were filled by men whose whole time was consecrated to the work they involved. The internal arrangements of the School were remodelled. Thus was the School of Medicine of the Catholic University raised from being the smallest to what it is now, the largest and most prosperous Medical School in Ireland. Whilst its just claims for endowment from the public funds constitute one of the most important elements in the University question as it exists in Ireland to-day. All this was Birmingham's work—aided by a devoted band of colleagues, no doubt—but the initial fount of energy was his. The many-sided capacity for scientific work, for business details, and for organization, was his, and his alone.

In the intervals of his other work he produced many papers of high scientific value. He monographed the ear for Mr. Naughton-Jones's Text-book, and also wrote on the Mastoid Region of the Skull. It is for his work on the topographical anatomy of the abdominal organs, and chiefly on the Anatomy of the Digestive Tract, that he will be remembered. The latter piece of work, which he contributed to Cunningham's Text Book, is regarded by competent authority as of truly remarkable merit and originality,



and as one of the best articles in that highly-esteemed compilation. As an anatomist, Birmingham's ability was early recognised at home, where he was for a time President of the Section of Anatomy and Physiology of the Royal Academy of Medicine, and in England where he was appointed Extern Examiner in Anatomy at Cambridge University.

So manifold were Birmingham's serious occupations that his amusements occupied a small, some will think an unduly small part of his time. Prominent amongst these was photography, at which he was an adept. From his continental tours he used to bring home scores of beautiful negatives. These he worked up into lantern slides, and made the text of many a delightful discourse. Characteristic of him was his desire to make others participate in the pleasure which he so derived, and he actually started a dark-room in the School, and induced many of the students to take up photography, showing them personally how to develop their negatives.

Another of his plans for raising the level of the students' tastes was the dinner-club which he founded under the title of "The Cecilians," and which used to meet several times each Session at the Dolphin Restaurant near the School. This promoted a feeling of solidarity and good-fellowship between the students and the Professors—many of whom used to dine regularly there. It was also his idea that after-dinner speeches should be made so as to give the students some little practice in post-prandial oratory—a by-no-means-to-be-despised attainment nowadays.

Such were Birmingham's activities. Unfortunately they outran his physical strength, which began to fail a couple of years ago. He began to suffer from persistent headache and visual disturbance, the result, no doubt, of disordered cerebral circulation. He developed a steadily progressive arterio-sclerosis, the results of which have now terminated his most valuable life to the intense sorrow of his pupils past and present, as well as of his colleagues in the Medical School, Royal University, Zoological Council, and other spheres of activity, in all of which his genial presence and agile mind, fertile in expedient, fruitful in achievement, will be sorely and sadly missed. R.I.P.

E. J. MCW.

To the above account we shall add a few words about two students of the School, both of whom were most active in promoting co-operation with University College, and by an early death left gaps in its circle of Medical friends. These were Alfred McLaughlin and Tom Madden. The former was remarkable for energy and a strong power of organization. He was Secretary of the University College Football Club (though not then strictly a member of the College) in the Session 1901-2. Thus he helped to work up the efficiency which the Club was attaining at this epoch, until the mistake of entering the Senior League prematurely injured its morale; and he also wrote the Football Notes in the College Journal. He spent himself in working up interest among members of the School in the College Sodality. Although he is but once mentioned as a speaker in the Minutes of the Library Conference, he was regular in attendance. He also took a leading part in organizing the concerts of the Choral Union, and it was after that of December 1901, for which he had overworked himself, that he first gave signs of lung trouble, and in February 1902 he was ordered to the South of England to recruit. He returned to Dublin in the course of the following year, but never fully regained his strength, and died in 1903. He was of a remarkably simple and lovable disposition combined with a strong and manly character, and his death was a real loss to the medical profession in Ireland.

Of Tom Madden we need say less here because his name appears so prominently in other connections. No one was more popular in both School and College

and he was of all the writers of *Medical Notes in St. Stephen's* the most prolific, being for several years on the Staff as Medical Sub-Editor. His lamented death took place much more recently, namely in 1927.

With these names ought to be added that of Dr. Sarsfield Kerrigan, who is still—and may he be for long—in the land of the living. It is owing to his care that we are able to print the Record of the Library Conferences at University College, of which he was the life and soul.

Other names occur elsewhere in this Volume, especially in regard to the religious and athletic activities at University College, in which most especially the co-operation of the School with the College proved beneficial to both institutions.

## CHAPTER VII.

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### ACADEMIC SIDE OF COLLEGE LIFE.

1. **The Curriculum.**
  2. **Celtic Studies.**  
Contribution by PROF. EOIN MACNEILL, D.Litt.
  3. **The Ancient Classics.**  
PROF. HENRY BROWNE, M.A.
  4. **Mathematics and Science.**
  5. **The Modern Faculties.**
  6. **Evening Lectures.**
  7. **Developments of Academic Activity.**
  8. **External Aids to Academic Growth.**
- Appendix I.*—Recollections of Rev. Prof. P. McSweeney, M.A.
- Appendix II.*—Sir Horace Plunkett on Prof. Finlay's extra-Collegiate work.
- Appendix III.*—Professor Douglas Hyde, D.Litt., on the Career of Professor George Sigerson.



## ACADEMIC SIDE OF COLLEGE LIFE.

### 1.—*The Curriculum.*

IN treating the academic life of the College separately from its social activities we do not forget that such an arrangement is artificial, but it must be followed for convenience' sake. Without attempting strictly to define what is meant by higher education, we may regard it as something of an atmosphere of the spirit, a tone of mind, a definite outlook upon life. But it also, like other departments of life, involves an external order, a rule of conduct. It is only when we combine the various elements which go to create a University centre that we can grasp its real character. Yet in a history it is allowable to try to disentangle the elements.

We shall therefore for the moment confine ourselves to treating of the more strictly intellectual side of our subject. And although it will be necessary to discuss details of the curriculum followed in the College, yet it will be our aim to treat of these things lightly and not to weary our readers by over-attention to technicalities.

It must be remembered throughout that this volume treats of a period of development which lasted for nearly a human generation of thirty years; also, that the development, owing to the circumstances, came more rapidly than would happen in a more normal

institution. When important we shall try to note differences of periods; but it would not be possible in every case to refer to the phases through which the College passed. The reader will, however, understand that any particular statement may apply more specially, if not exclusively, to one portion of our history.

It will be clear from what has preceded that the academic character of University College education depended upon that of the Royal University under which the College operated. The courses for Degrees and for all examinations were laid down so as to apply to five University Colleges, all different, to the Seminaries, at least three Women's Colleges, and to a large number of extern students of both sexes, including many who were undergoing courses in Training Colleges both Catholic and Protestant. Much has been written against Federal Universities; indeed the feeling against them has become very strong: but the system of the Royal University was (perhaps rightly under the circumstances) far more rigid than would be ordinarily the case under a more strictly federal system. To prove this statement we have only to compare the freedom enjoyed under the National University of Ireland with that of its predecessor. Another point to remark is that the Royal University was an experiment. Considering not merely the terms of its charter but also the constitution of its Governing Body, the wonder is, not that the system was defective, but that it was not infinitely worse than it actually proved to be. Few members of the Senate had experience of Professorial life, though many of

them, like the administrative officials, had graduated in some sort of University.

Therefore it is not surprising to have to record that although the Royal University was successful in carrying out its appointed task of preparing for its own abolition, yet there was a good deal of dissatisfaction about the courses prescribed by it.

For instance there was a want of elasticity in the grouping of subjects, and a notable lack of specialization. To give a few illustrations of what we mean, it was impossible for a student to devote himself for advanced work in Physics without also taking Chemistry, and *vice versâ*. In like manner, it was necessary in the Modern Language groups for graduates preparing for Studentships to take *three* languages, all on the same level. There was no distinction between Major and Minor Subjects—all marks being treated as of the same value. In Classical Subjects there was an attempt to introduce certain alternatives for the higher examinations. But the system as worked was not satisfactory, as it was found difficult to compare the merits of those taking different subjects or groups. Again in the Orals it was considered necessary that all candidates in any examination be asked exactly the same questions—a rule which was directed towards fairness, but was much too rigid to work well.

It was originally the custom to hold Orals for all the Honours examinations including the First Arts, but after some years this was restricted to Modern Languages and a few other subjects. The holding of Orals in the higher examinations was found to be



inconvenient, especially when the candidates were at a distance from Dublin; but they were thought to be necessary and were retained. The points to which objections were taken in the Royal University curriculum might no doubt be augmented, as will indeed appear when we come closer to details. But enough has been said to make it clear that, if there were defects on the academic side of student life, they were not always such as the College could hold itself responsible for. What concerns our enquiry more closely is the actual working of the College under the existing conditions, whether favourable or not. And we shall take the Faculties or groups of subjects separately. It will be understood that outside the Arts Faculty, there was not a great variety of subjects. Science was represented but imperfectly, as also Economics and other modern subjects; Engineering and Law were but mere shadows; Technology did not exist, nor Theology, nor Education. The Medical Faculty was mainly located elsewhere.

## *2.—Celtic Studies.*

In regard to the study of Irish and cognate languages and literatures the contrast is strongly marked between the period of the Royal and that of the National University. The fact that good work was done in and by the Dublin College in the way of preparation for later developments, no fair-minded historian will ever call into question. Newman himself had set a good example and had founded a

noble tradition of respect for Celtic Studies, when he gave Eugene O'Curry and W. K. Sullivan the opportunity which they utilized so efficiently. And it is equally true that the tradition was worthily carried on by Professors O'Carroll, Hogan, and Murphy, abetted by Fr. Delany, and supported by John McNeill, Douglas Hyde, Patrick H. Pearse, and other notable workers in the national, and extra-national, school of learning. In this chapter we are to deal with the subject purely as related to academic work<sup>1</sup> done in the College; and in considering that work its pioneer nature must be continually borne in mind. The actual number taking Irish studies especially in the earlier years was not large; the number of honours gained in the University lists might appear to be almost negligible; but we must view these facts in their true perspective. The Irish Revival as we know it now had yet to come into existence. The early years of the College were indeed contemporary with the Anglo-Celtic movement of W. B. Yeats and his colleagues or followers. Even in the 'nineties people were discussing the *Countess Kathleen*; but the books of O'Growney were only beginning to see the light in the *Weekly Freeman*. Following this section will come an appreciation of Fr. Hogan<sup>2</sup> and his literary work by his most celebrated pupil, which renders it unnecessary to say anything here on that subject; we shall only add a few details concerning the man and

<sup>1</sup> Other aspects will be treated in a later chapter.

<sup>2</sup> For Fr. J. J. O'Carroll's love of Irish studies, see Mr. Brayden's testimony on p. 124. Great scholar as he was, he did not do much in the way of actually teaching Irish in the College.

his work in the College. He was born at Queenstown in 1831; entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen; and died at the age of sixty-six. He joined Father Delany at St. Stephen's Green at the end of his first year of the College (1884); and was appointed examiner in the University for the years 1888 and 1889. He then was for a few years in Milltown Park; but he returned to St. Stephen's Green in 1894, when he was made Fellow of the University—a position which he retained till the transformation of 1909.

During his earlier years of teaching in the College he had but few pupils, sometimes perhaps not more than one at a time, but men like John MacNeill, or John McErlean, S.J., or Patrick MacSweeney. In the year 1891 we know of two students of the names of Campbell and Gavin in a class together. There were also eight other students in this year. In the Session 1901-2, he had as Class for the B.A. Degree, George Clancy, James O'Kelly, and James Clandillon—a class not large in number, but destined to a rich meed of fame. For a series of years in the 'nineties there were registered usually from four to six students in Celtic; but there was a sudden accession to twenty-three and sixteen in the years 1900-1 and 1901-2 respectively; unfortunately, we have not been able to discover any later records.

We may mention here that Father Dinneen was a student in the College, but he was then giving his time to Mathematical work, and does not remember studying Irish with Father Hogan. It is not impossible, however, that from him he gained some of the

inspiration which has just brought his monumental Irish Dictionary to a successful completion.

Although it is known, and is stated in this volume, that Fr. Delany as President was in his later days strongly antagonistic to some of the demands of the Gaelic League, all through his career he consistently promoted Irish studies on their academical side. Like Fr. Hogan he was a Governor of the "School of Irish Learning," to which he gave financial support. He also subsidised Fr. O'Leary's publications handsomely. The Lectures on Irish History which he commissioned Dr. MacNeill to deliver in the College<sup>3</sup> proved to be in more senses than one an epoch-making event. When he was resisting what he honestly believed to be academically a retrograde movement, he countered the attack of his adversaries by reminding the Gaelic League that he had walked in one of their public processions at the head of a group of his students, for which he had received from the Council a formal vote of thanks.

We have one more interesting fact to record, and that is, that in the year 1901-2, when enthusiasm for modern Irish was at its height, P. H. Pearse gave in the College on certain days, at two o'clock p.m., a course of Lectures for beginners. It was followed among others by Con Curran, John O'Sullivan, Felix Hackett, Hugh Kennedy, A. Clery, Louis J. Walsh. During 1902-3, James Clandillon gave a course in elementary Irish, and later the same work was carried on by James O'Kelly. Other courses by Pearse or by

<sup>3</sup> See pp 302 and 495.

other Irish scholars were also given outside the College, but were followed by its students.<sup>4</sup>

A course in Irish History of a popular sort was given in the College, we believe by P. H. Pearse. The lectures were followed by a large number, including some of the Staff, who came chiefly to give any encouragement they could to the Irish Revival.

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*Contribution by Professor Eoin MacNeill, M.A., D.Litt.*

In 1887, having been appointed a junior clerk in the Supreme Court, I came to live in Dublin. I had been a student in St. Malachy's College, Belfast, studying for an Arts Degree in the Royal University, and had yet to go forward for the Degree examination. I took the Degree of B.A. in 1888, and, one of my subjects being Political Economy, the oral examination made me for the first time, on anything but equal terms, acquainted with Father T. A. Finlay. I was now released from the bondage of examinations, and somehow became acutely conscious that in all my student years I had not learned anything of the language of my own country. So sometime in 1889 I began to study Irish, using the primers of the Gaelic Union and the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language, Joyce's *Grammar*, Canon Ulick Burke's *Grammar and Easy Lessons*, and any other book of instruction in Irish that I could find. Then I advertised in the *Freeman's Journal* for private tuition, so as to learn the pronunciation. Out of three replies I selected one,

<sup>4</sup> They were in some cases organized by the Central Branch of the Gaelic League. See Chapter XIII., p. 478.

and after a course of eight lessons, two a week, I concluded that the benefit to be gained from my tutor was achieved. In the summer of 1890 I spent a fortnight in the Arran Islands, and came back to Dublin full of the purpose of extending my knowledge of Irish. I made enquiry at University College about instruction there and was referred to Father Hogan. He received me genially, and when I explained to him that I only wished to study Irish under direction and not for any special academic goal, he gave me to understand that he raised no objection and invited me to come straightway and study under him. Being in the Four Courts by day, I used to come to his room in the evenings as often as he could allow. For some time another student came for the same lessons, Mr. John M'Nelis, who has recently been President of the Irish National Teachers' Organization. After some months, from being a student I became what might almost be called my professor's apprentice. I was making gradual headway in Middle and Old Irish. Fr. Hogan always had something in hand for publication and he brought me right into his own work and into almost every part of it. As much as possible, he handed over to me parts of his work to do and threw me on my own resources for the doing of it. Of course, to take it as it came from me or to reshape it in its final stages for publication was reserved for himself, and, after a few months of tuition, all the work on which I was engaged under him was intended for publication. In these tasks I found the greatest pleasure, not more because they were congenial than from being associated with so kindly a teacher and

director. He was full of kindness to me. His own natural bent was for history, and a list of his published works in order of date will show clearly that his studies in Irish were at first only accessory to his studies in Irish history. In my case it was just the converse. Coming to him for instruction in Irish, I began to discover how little I knew of the history of my country and how little of its history was to be learned from the books of Irish history that people read.

Father Hogan was a link between the old and the new tradition of Irish scholarship. He was, I think, the last of a long line stretching back to St. Patrick's time, who used Latin easily and naturally as the language of communication between the learned. He was a good modern linguist, at home in the Romance languages and in German. He had worked for the Bollandists on the lives of the Irish Saints, and it was this work evidently that showed him the impossibility of carrying on research in Irish history without a knowledge of the earlier forms of the Irish language. The first that I can trace of his published studies in Old Irish is an article on the verb form *iurad* printed in 1887 in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. He had found this word in the Book of Armagh in the course of his studies of the materials for the Life of St. Patrick. In 1882 and 1883 he published the two parts of his *Vita Sancti Patricii*, containing all the material relating to St. Patrick in the Book of Armagh which he had already edited for the *Analecta Bollandiana*, and in addition a full vocabulary of the Irish words and proper names in the text. It contains also

a valuable piece of research in Father Hogan's annotations to the *Notulae*, a collection of brief memoranda in the Book of Armagh, which were evidently intended to form the basis of a fuller account of the Acts of St. Patrick than had been given by Muirchu and Tirechan.

It was during my apprenticeship that Father Hogan undertook his first edition of an early Irish text outside of the range of hagiography. The text was *Cath Ruis na Ríg*. He made me do all the spade-work. I copied the early text from the original Book of Leinster in the library of Trinity College, for Father Hogan would not rely on the published facsimile—and the later text from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy. In this way, I got my first introduction to ancient manuscripts and their technique. I had also to prepare the first draft of the English translation and of the Vocabulary, and to supply a good deal of material for the introduction and annotations. Finally I had to correct the proofs. All this was done under Father Hogan's supervision, and for me it was the best of training. The book was published in 1892 in the "Todd Lecture Series" of the Royal Irish Academy. My share of the work was equivalent to what students would call "a stiff course" in Middle Irish, but was more fully effective.

Father Hogan's next project was a collection of Irish hagiographical texts which existed in two versions, Irish and Latin, and these he published also in the "Todd Lecture Series" in 1894. His choice of these bilingual texts was dictated by the needs of Irish lexicography. From the same motive he edited, in the



same series, the *Irish Version of Nennius*, in 1895. My share in the preparation of these editions is fixed in memory by an incident. The vocabulary to the last-named (Todd Lecture Series, Vol. VI.) contained the word *nuas*, *nùs*, which means "biestings," the first milk given by a cow after calving. The printer's reader corrected the explanatory word to "bee-stings." I restored "biestings" on the proof, but the printer would not have it, and so, in the published edition, page 124, the student is informed, on the apparent authority of Father Hogan, that *nuas* means "bee-stings." By this time I was gradually passing out of apprenticeship, and in 1893 I had become honorary secretary of the Gaelic League. Father Hogan, meanwhile, had decided on my promotion. After the publication of *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, he said to me again and again, "You must publish something." He knew better than I did then that the publication of creditable work is the most effective Degree that can be conferred on a student. It was like the antique custom of giving arms to a youth, and my feeling about it was not quite heroic. He suggested this thing and that among unpublished Irish texts, but always with the condition, "*si le coeur vous en dit*." At last, I selected three Middle-Irish poems relating to a common episode. This time Father Hogan left me altogether to my own resources. When I had completed the work, he "communicated" it to the Royal Irish Academy, and it was accepted for publication and published in the Academy's *Proceedings* in 1895. Of all my indebtedness to Father Hogan, I count this item the largest. It has led me to recognise that no

academic distinction that can be conferred on students is comparable in effect with the publication of suitable original work done by them. Amateurish as it was, the appearance of this essay in scholarship as a booklet seemed to bring me into another world. I had gone out among the giants. It brought me kindly letters of commendation, not without criticism, from some of the Olympians themselves, among them Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer. My work in Father Hogan's laboratory had been regulated by no academic programme, tested by no academic test, directed towards no academic distinction, but it had given me knowledge, training, insight, and enterprise, and introduced me to the sacred circle of the learned.

The bent of Father Hogan's scholarship was plainly towards Irish history, and he had a sense of Irish history in its widest scope. One of his books deals with the physical characteristics of the Irish people, another with the history of Irish hunting dogs. Invaluable for the history of the time is his edition of the *Description of Ireland in 1598*. His *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century* shows what Ireland contributed to the glory of his own Order in intellect, learning, and missionary enterprise, during a period in which, one might well think, Ireland could not be expected to do more than writhe under persecution, massacre, famine, and expropriation.

His time of learned activity was a time of the greatest intensive and extensive growth of Irish philology. Father Hogan made no pretence to philological authority, but he endeavoured, and influenced me to endeavour, to keep in touch with the advance

of philological studies in Old and Middle Irish. In that advance, the leading philologists themselves did not always keep on one front line. When one of them detected another lagging behind, he opened fire without mercy on the delinquent. Father Hogan took no part in these affrays, and was able to give his own published work a form which did not lie open to much attack. Once only I can remember him stirred to wrath by a criticism. Among all the philological combatants, perhaps the most battle-scarred was Atkinson. When Father Hogan brought forward his *Irish and Latin Lives of the Saints* as a contribution towards Irish lexicography, Atkinson, in a meeting of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, asked if this material would not be more properly published as folklore!

It was at Father Hogan's instance that I was invited in 1904 by Father Delany to give a special series of lectures in University College on Irish history. The substance of these lectures was afterwards published in a series of articles in the *New Ireland Review*. As I have written elsewhere, the invitation was to me more than a call, it was a calling. So to Father Hogan I owe instruction, training, direction, and ultimately the direct inducement to adopt the study of Irish history as a special occupation.

The last work on a large scale undertaken by Father Hogan was the *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, a dictionary of the place-names of Ireland found in the manuscripts of Old and Middle Irish. This was a task of immense labour. The materials from which the names were drawn included the whole range of published texts and



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a large number of unpublished manuscripts in the Dublin libraries—it was not practicable to extend the search to the Irish manuscripts of the Bodleian library, the British Museum, and other collections abroad. In addition to the purely lexicographical work of collecting the names, arranging them in dictionary order, and collating the references, Father Hogan endeavoured to find for each name a modern identification by name or locality, with reference to maps, modern indexes, gazetteers, etc. In some instances the identification of a single name involved considerable research. As an example, I may cite Cell Mo Shamoc, the site of the battle in 919 between Niall Glundub, king of Ireland, and the Dublin Norsemen, which O'Donovan had wrongly placed at Kilmashogue. In the preparation of the *Onomasticon*, I was one of the least of Father Hogan's helpers.

In the search of manuscripts, his chief worker was the late J. J. O'Farrelly, the last of the age-long line of professional Irish scribes. In other parts of the work Father John MacErlean, S.J., his brother Andrew, and my brother Charles collaborated. *Onomasticon Goedelicum* has and will long continue to have a value far beyond a topographical dictionary. It supplies innumerable clues to guide the research student through the labyrinths of early and medieval Irish history. I have found by experience that, by following its references to the manuscripts or printed sources, one may often expect to discover or link up information so as to gain insight into matters of history which would otherwise be altogether obscure. (I may cite as an instance, from a recent number

of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries for Ireland*, my identification of one of the principal places of assembly and the evidence that, until the eighth century, the kingdom of the Ulaídh comprised a large part of the present county of Louth). Father Hogan was at work on the *Onomasticon* for about nine years (1901-1910).

### 3.—*Ancient Classics.*

*Professor Henry Browne, S.J., M.A.*

In turning now to the Department of Classical Study there is much to be said. The strain caused by the competition of modern studies with those of the older learning was beginning to be felt, and as time progressed was in some ways becoming more acute. But it goes without saying that in an institution originally founded by Newman and hitherto continuously under Catholic and even clerical management, the Classical interest was strong. In the earlier days it had been fostered by men of the calibre of Professors Ornsby and Stewart; somewhat later by the Jesuit Fathers O'Carroll, Gerard Hopkins, and John Clarke; later again Fr. Henry Browne took up the Greek Professorship. During the early days of the College, as has been stated, Dr. Starkie was for a time on the staff as Classical Tutor.

In 1901 Mr. Semple—who had quite an exceptionally brilliant career in the Intermediate, at St. Columb's College, Derry, and later in University College—became Professor of Latin. He had previously won a Classical Studentship in 1897, and the following year

a Junior Fellowship, the only one in Classics ever awarded to a Catholic. His zeal is unbounded for Latin studies, more especially in connection with the Imperial period, about which his knowledge is known to be extremely detailed. In the National University Professor Semple holds an influential position as Senator of many years standing, and as a member of the Governing Body of University College. His predecessors in the Latin Chair were Mr. (afterwards Circuit Justice) Charles Doyle, M.A., who had to resign teaching Latin in 1897 on account of increasing work at the Irish Bar;<sup>5</sup> and later Mr. Thomas O'Nowlan, S.J., the distinguished Irish scholar, who took a Classical Scholarship from Belvedere College in 1893, and a Studentship in 1896. Among Classical Teachers at the College we should mention Mr. Hugh McNeill, B.A., who taught Pass Latin for a long period; Mr. Robert F. Crook, M.A., T.C.D., who also taught for some years, until he became Professor of Latin at the Marlboro' Street Training College; and Mr. John Colclough, who took Pass Latin and Greek for many years, being well known in the College for a deep if old-fashioned scholarship, and still more for his quaintness and gift of humour. Mr. John Bacon, M.A., after graduating in 1888, also taught Pass Latin in the Evening Classes.

We have spoken elsewhere of the Jesuit students whose achievements in the Examination Hall did so much to enhance the reputation of the College; and

<sup>5</sup> He held the Latin Professorship for six or seven years, being a distinguished Classical Scholar of Trinity College, where he was also Auditor of the Historical Society. He was also for many years Clerk of Convocation. See also p. 541.



it is hardly necessary to state that their chief field of distinction was the Classical one, where they won many high distinctions. Again, in addition to the Presidents and the Jesuit Professors in general—as the Fathers Finlay, Darlington, Malac, Hogan, O'Neill, and Egan—several of the lay Professors of other faculties—as Professors Sigerson, Arnold, McWeeney, Cadic—had been educated under the older Classical system and were strongly sympathetic with the Faculty. At this period Latin was, we believe, a compulsory subject in all British and Irish Universities; so there were many reasons why Classical studies were kept relatively well to the front in the curriculum of the College.

Possibly something may have been due to the proximity of Trinity College which was not only a great centre of Classical study, but was entirely dominated by the older traditions of University learning. We do not forget that Dublin University was also very strong on the Mathematical side. But this Faculty, from the earliest times regarded as a mainstay of the Universities, was seldom if ever unsympathetic with Latin and Greek. Competition with Classics was more liable to happen in the case of subjects like Modern History, Modern Languages, Philosophy and Economics, or even to some extent Physics, Chemistry, and Biology.

What is, however, important to record here is the attitude of the Senate towards the Classical Faculty. Rightly or wrongly they did their best to give it all encouragement possible. The arrangement as to standards of marks allowed in competitions between

different subjects was sometimes a matter of dispute; and in spite of any complaints which did arise, the standard for Latin and for Greek, as for Mathematics, was kept considerably higher than that adopted for other subjects. We do not desire to argue the question here, but merely to record the fact that account was taken of the difficulty and complexity of these subjects, and also the danger of their being strangled in the struggle for life. Similarly in offering Scholarships and Studentships for competition a larger proportion was allotted to Classics and Mathematics than to the Modern Faculties. In passing we may remark that in the National University there has been some modification of the above policy—though we should by no means argue that such changes, under different conditions, must prove disastrous to the ancient learning.

The result of the arrangement made by the Senate was that in no department were students of University College more successful than those of the Classical Faculty. Besides the distinctions won in their own University including the Junior Fellowship which has been referred to, and four Studentships, they obtained high honours in Trinity College, at Oxford, in the Indian and Home Civil Services; several Professorships and Lectureships at Maynooth and in various Universities including that of Hong-Kong. One of them is Head of Newman College in the University of Melbourne; two are Ministers of Departments in the Free State; one who matriculated in 1909 obtained the Cromer Prize for Greek History which is open to all Universities of the British Empire.

As the College was largely instrumental in the foundation of the Classical Association of Ireland in 1906, it will hardly be out of place to give here a somewhat detailed account of this movement and of the circumstances which led up to the formation of a national organization. Unfortunately as we learn at the moment of writing, the Association is suffering a temporary eclipse; nor is this wonderful considering the recent history of the country and the difficulties which for the moment surround Irish educational problems. It is certain, however, that, not merely in University College, but in a wide sphere of influence, the Association effected a marked quickening of public interest in classical scholarship.

It should be premised that the Classical Associations now spread over the whole English-speaking world from San Francisco to Bombay and Melbourne, took their rise in Edinburgh. The Scottish Society, founded in 1902, was followed by the English one in the following year. A large number of Irish scholars, including Professors of Trinity College as well as the Royal University had joined this English Association. In 1905 Professor Henry Browne went to a meeting held at King's College, London, at which he was asked to speak on the condition of Classical study in the Irish Colleges; and subsequently was invited to a private conference as to the possibility of founding a Branch of the Association in Ireland. The plan then mooted was to try and get the Scottish as parent Association to join in founding a general Association for Great Britain and Ireland—a proposal supported by Profes-

sor Hardy of Edinburgh who was present at the Conference.

On his return to Dublin, Professor Browne consulted his colleagues of the Royal University as to the advisability of making some move either on the lines indicated or otherwise. He was strongly supported by Mr. John Thompson, M.A., a distinguished Cambridge Scholar, who was until quite lately Head Master of the Dublin High School. His classes were regarded as a training ground for aspirants to Classical Scholarships at Trinity College; and he had taken a leading part in several educational movements. It soon became evident that to have any chance of success any proposed organization should be a new and purely Irish society, without any direct affiliation to, or dependence upon, existing associations. Among the Classical Staff of the Royal University Colleges there was considerable interest in the matter, but also hesitation to act. They expressed their feeling that the first move should be preferably made by the older University, which had been long recognised as a bulwark of Classical learning—whereas the Royal, however it stood as to more modern departments of learning, had yet to earn its laurels in the world of Classics.

In Trinity College itself there were, unfortunately, complications. It had become clear that among the younger Fellows and graduates of the College an attempt to found a national organization could count upon strong support; on the other hand, a powerful conservative element among the older and more influential Professors would have to be reckoned with.

Both Dr. Yelverton Tyrrell and Dr. Mahaffy adhered to the English Association, and it was represented that they were not inclined to favour the starting of a new organization on a broad and national basis. The difficulty was complicated by the notorious fact that these two celebrated men did not work harmoniously, and to approach one of them, it was feared, might alienate the sympathy of the other, and cause fresh difficulty. We feel justified in alluding to these rather delicate topics, not on account of the quite natural friction between two great personalities, but because in spite of difficulties the Classical Association, when founded, became a striking object lesson of Irishmen working together in a common cause.

What happened was that the deadlock was averted by action taken in the older College itself. Information reached the Classical Board of the Royal University that, owing to what seemed the hopelessness of co-operation outside, the progressive party within Trinity were promoting a new scheme, namely that of founding a College Society upon a scale which would eventually block the way for a larger association acceptable to Catholics. The Board at once, under the initiative of Professor Dougan of Belfast, determined to call a general meeting at the University of persons interested, with a view to taking independent action. At the meeting so held it was unanimously decided to take the necessary steps, but—without directly inviting Trinity College (which, it was feared, might be untactful under the circumstances)—to leave it open for its Classical Scholars to join in the movement. Hence no officers or Council

were to be named until "other institutions"—none being named—should have an opportunity of notifying their adherence to the proposal.

A satisfactory solution was brought about by the spirited action of some undergraduates who laid the matter before Professor Beare, a man much beloved by the students, and trusted by his colleagues. He, grasping the difficulties of the situation, and being convinced that there was no thought of slighting his learned and veteran colleagues, expressed his desire to meet a promoter of the scheme and to discuss the possibility of harmonious action with the Royal University. Professor Browne then paid a visit to the College, with the result that Professor Beare promised to secure the support of Professor Louis Purser and Mr. Justice Madden, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, for a national movement. They, when called upon, decided that the College must no longer hold aloof, and between them arranged to secure as the first President of an Irish Association Professor Butcher, then in possession of the Greek Chair of Cambridge University and a *grata persona* to the Irish Catholic body. When acquainted with all the facts, Mr. Butcher accepted the Presidency, and gave an Inaugural Address in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society which was received with enthusiasm by a crowded audience. He was followed next year by Judge Madden himself, who happily chose for his Presidential Address a short outline of the Irish Classical learning in the seventeenth century.

It is pleasing to record that subsequently to the establishment of the Association Professor Tyrrell

consented to have his name added to the list of Vice-Presidents; and that Professor Mahaffy, though when invited as Provost he declined office, took part in the proceedings of the Association. We have already hinted that the relations between the old and new University in regard to this movement was marked by the utmost cordiality. As Presidents in later years, Professors Purser, Beare, Goligher, and Alton, alternated with Professors Browne and Semple of University College, Professors Dill and Henry of Belfast, Professor McElderry of Galway, Professor D'Alton of Maynooth, and Mr. J. Thompson of the High School. Sometimes meetings were held in Belfast, but the main activity was, of course, in Dublin. Professors Browne and Semple were invited to lecture on Classical subjects in Trinity College; and it was not uncommon to have Professor Purser and others from that College taking part in discussions of the Classical Society of University College.<sup>6</sup> For years there were two joint-Secretaries, one at each of the two Dublin centres, co-operating to make the Association a thoroughly national success. In this capacity, Mr. Alton's labours deserve mention in passing.

Within the College support was given to the Association not merely by the Classical Staff but by Fr. Delany, President, Professor T. A. Finlay (who had once examined for the Classical Degree), Father (afterwards Professor) Corcoran, Miss Mary (afterwards Professor) Hayden, and a large number of Professors, Lecturers, and graduates, chiefly of allied

<sup>6</sup> See p. 351.

subjects in the Faculty of Arts. It would take us too far afield to describe the support given to the Association in the local Colleges of Dublin and the provinces, and in the Seminaries, High Schools, and Convents of Ireland.

#### 4.—*Mathematics and Science.*

Our next topic will be the work done in Mathematics and Science. On this side the Record of the College is quite as notable as on that of Classical learning. In fact we shall mention a roll of names which taken together would do honour to any University College. In Mathematics, Casey, Morgan Crofton, McWeeney, Gibney, Egan, Conway—and in Science, Sigerson, Preston, Molloy, McClelland, W. M. Crofton, are names of eminence. Two of them were elected (at a later date) as Fellows of the Royal Society, a sufficient evidence of real distinction in the scientific world.

Mr. Henry McWeeney's late brother Edmund has been referred to more than once in this volume. As, happily, the mathematician is alive and in full work it is not so easy for us to descant upon his merits. Suffice to say that, next to the President, (whose place it has sometimes fallen to Professor McWeeney to fill temporarily) there is no person better known and beloved in the College of to-day, and it was so in the time of his earlier career to which this memoir belongs. Naturally of quiet and retiring disposition, his name is not perhaps very familiar to the outside world, but in the academic life



of Dublin it is different. For his attainments as a pure mathematician, for his assiduity in work and his success as a teacher, especially of the more advanced students, and above all for his good nature and equable temper, Henry McWeeney's name will be held in honour so long as that of University College is held in remembrance.

Of McWeeney's pupils we have already mentioned the names of Gibney, Egan, and Conway. Professor Joseph Gibney's career was cut short by death at an early age, probably due in part to family misfortune. He, too, was much beloved and was a singularly good teacher of mathematical science. In his early days he had been a pupil of the Jesuit Day-School in Dublin, and got all his higher training at the old University College, winning a Junior Fellowship and afterwards being elected to a full Fellowship. It was on the occasion of Gibney's lamented death in 1903 that Professor Egan was elected to his Chair. Such appointments had to be made by the Senate, but were practically in the hands of the College authorities. Mr. Egan's mathematical powers were generally recognised; indeed his academic career had fully revealed them. Yet the President and his advisers hesitated to recommend a member of the Order as successor to a lay Professor, for there was a natural reluctance on the part of the Jesuits to give even the appearance of straining their rather exceptional power. However, such strong representations were made by those outside the Order, and particularly by Professor McWeeney, who was most concerned in the matter, against the injustice of passing over Mr. Egan, as well

as the detriment it would cause to Mathematics in the College, that the authorities consented to his nomination and it need not be said how gladly. From that day to this not a word has even been uttered in criticism of the appointment. Not long after Gibney's death the Mathematical Staff was weakened by another still more premature death, that of Mr. James O'Toole, an Assistant Professor (and examiner in the University). He was a man of great promise, had taken a Mathematical Studentship in 1903, and was held in affection by a large circle of friends. He developed chest disease, and was quickly carried off in August 1905. O'Toole had interested himself in every aspect of College life, and was prominent in the establishment of the branch of St. Vincent de Paul.

Among the Tutorial Staff the name of Mr. Patrick Dowling occurs elsewhere in this record. He and his brother Hughes (whose memory goes back to the time of the old Catholic University prior to the College) taught for a long period, and also took part in the University examinations. Pass Mathematics was practically in the hands of Patrick, and a most efficient teacher and grinder he was known to be. Subsequently he obtained the post of Registrar at the Royal College of Science. He was also known as a lover of cricket.

Mr. Matthew Conran, M.A., was also Tutor for a long period, and Assistant Examiner from the year 1899 to 1904. His mathematic attainments were proved by his winning the Junior Fellowship in 1908, and he was subsequently appointed Professor of Mathematics at University College, Galway. Professor Arthur Conway, F.R.S., the efficient and popular Registrar of

the new College, is too well known in many countries as an authority upon Mathematical Physics to require a long notice. His career at Oxford, after graduating at University College, was brilliant; had he desired to do so he could have taken a Fellowship at his own College of Corpus, and without doubt at other Colleges also.

The heavy mortality we have recorded among the mathematicians, was also notable among the Faculty of Science. Professor Preston filled the Chair of Experimental Physics from January 1891 to his death in 1902. He was a Trinity College man of high distinction, and could have had a Fellowship quite easily had he desired to go through the necessary drudgery; but he preferred to devote himself to his experimental research. He published text-books on Heat and on Light which, for advanced students, were recognised to be indispensable. He was very popular in the College, and his early death was felt to be a heavy loss.

Professor Huston Stewart was contemporary with Preston, and took the more elementary but very important First Medical Class in Physics, and with them the First Year Arts men who took this subject as one out of five. Stewart was a successful teacher, and his illness and death when not much beyond middle life was, like that of Preston, felt to be a College misfortune. It occurred in the same year with that of his more famous colleague.

We must just mention here Professor John McClelland, F.R.S., though his career was more remarkable in regard to the new College (where he

organized the Physics laboratories) than in the old. Yet he taught in the latter for half a decade. His death in 1918 is comparatively recent, and his memory is so fresh in Irish academic circles that we need say no more than that he was beloved by his pupils and admired by all who knew him.

The difficulties caused in the College for want of proper appliances for teaching science can be hardly imagined without having seen McClelland's laboratory, which was used prior to the decease of Dr. Molloy in 1906. Yet here was the only apparatus for preparing students even for the higher examinations in the University. We may relate a rather amusing incident in illustration of the severe handicap which happened in Professor McClelland's period. Two students from Cambridge who had studied with him under Thompson in the Cavendish Laboratory—which is celebrated as one of the finest in the world—were passing through Dublin on a tour, and calling at the College enquired for their distinguished fellow-student. Hearing that he was away at the moment, they asked the Dean of Studies, whom they happened to meet, if he would show them the present scene of McClelland's labours, expecting to see something worthy of the powers of research which they had known him to possess. The request was granted, and when they were shown into the class-room opposite the Sodality Chapel, with its few miscellaneous instruments huddled together in a couple of cupboards on the wall, they could hardly conceal their astonishment. Quite unashamed, the Dean said, "Gentlemen, I am glad to have given you some insight into the conditions under which our

Professor of Physics has to work, so that when you return to your and his University you can say you have learned something new about the Irish University question." And no doubt they had.

There were indeed fine laboratories in the College of Science, which was only a few minutes distance from St. Stephen's Green. Here Professor Hackett worked, and although his laboratories could not be thrown open to the College, yet their proximity to it will have been of some advantage to the students or the Professors. Something similar might be said of the fine and up-to-date plant which was kept at the University for purposes of examination. Here the students were rigidly excluded, and that rightly, because preparations were frequently being made for examinations; clearly any regular use of them by candidates was impossible. But Dr. Adeny, who was in charge, carried on certain researches there, and as he was on excellent terms with the College Staff they may have derived some benefit therefrom.

There was at one time an idea that, as these fine premises were not fully utilized during term-time, they ought to be put at the disposal of the Professors who were also charged with the examinations. There was some plausibility in the proposal, because the Dublin College was clearly in a much worse case than the Queen's Colleges with which it had to compete. But the University authorities refused to make any change, and it is doubtful whether they had any legal power to do so.

This may be a good place to introduce some reference to the work done by Dr. Molloy as expounder of

**Physical Science.** He possessed a fine apparatus, and gave lectures regularly in his rooms which occupied considerable space in No. 86 St. Stephen's Green, which had been since Newman's days the central building of the College. The lectures, more popular than strictly academical, were given in the afternoons, and drew large audiences, especially of ladies. Though not an original or profound scientist, Dr. Molloy had an unusual gift of making clear to persons of ordinary intelligence the more recent advances, chiefly in electrical science. We were informed that his advocacy of the newly-discovered three-phase system of transmitting electrical current caused it to be adopted by the Dublin Corporation for lighting the city. They had naturally hesitated to be almost the first to try a new discovery, but they were well satisfied with the result. It will be evident that although Dr. Molloy did not devote his efforts directly to College teaching, yet his success as a popular expounder of physics, and the careful manner in which his lectures and experiments were carried on, were distinct advantages to the students in the Faculty of Science. His sudden death, which occurred at the Centenary Celebrations of St. Andrew's University in the year 1906, came as a shock to his numerous friends and admirers at University College—as elsewhere. For it has been already noted that his relations with the College, and in particular with the Jesuit Community, had been all along marked with friendship and cordiality. Yet, speaking from our particular standpoint, by his death, much as it was regretted, he indirectly helped the teaching of Science in the College. His rooms and his valuable

instruments were now put at the disposal of the Professor of Physics, who was entrusted by Dr. Molloy's executors with the care of the apparatus, which had however to be preserved separately in their own cases.

We have still to speak of the Biological School and its laboratory. This was carried on all through our period partly by Dr. Sigerson to whom reference has already been made. His work was rather on the side of Zoology than Botany, and he was assisted by Professor Klein, Professor Hahn, later by Mr. (afterwards Professor) W. M. Crofton and Dr. Michael Curran, M.A.

Mr. Bailey Butler, who took his B.A. with First Class Honours in Biology and Physiology in 1905, was at once appointed to a College Lectureship in Biology (temporary) owing to the illness of Professor Curran. Two years later he took an Honours M.A. Degree in Biological Science, but did not take his medical qualifications till 1909, when he was raised to the rank of Professor of Botany in the new University. His activity in the later years of the old College was very useful, but these were more than purely academic impulses, and will have a fitting mention in another chapter.<sup>7</sup>

### 5.—*The Modern Faculties.*

This section deals with Modern History, Language, and Literature; Mental and Moral Philosophy; and Economics. The development of Universities all over the world has been and is largely the development of

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter IX., on "Social Life," p. 353.

modern subjects of study, nor was the career of University College an exception to the rule, though here the expansion was necessarily on a modest scale. It has been already clearly laid down that the character and regulations of the Royal University controlled or strongly influenced the educational policy of its constituent Colleges. The constitution of the University was such that, while the Senate honestly endeavoured to carry on its work as efficiently as possible to meet the necessities of the age and country to which it belonged, on the other hand it had to be cautious and conservative in framing its programmes of study and of examinations. Its own existence was felt to be something transitory and experimental, and perhaps for that very reason the Senate was shy of committing itself to new demands and unexplored paths of progress.

With regard to the Modern Faculties and especially that of Modern Languages, the demand for more vital recognition came very much more from the women's Colleges than from the men. The Royal University held a forward position in the struggle for the admission of women to University training,<sup>8</sup> but this subject, in so far as it relates to University College, will receive separate treatment, so that here we need only make a single remark. It is to the effect that in Ireland the higher education of women, especially on the Catholic side, was less advanced than in most English-speaking countries. Therefore the disabilities under which women existed in Ireland must be

<sup>8</sup> By throwing open all its degrees, prizes, and emoluments for free competition between men and women.



referred less to the Royal University system as worked than to the condition of the Secondary Schools and Colleges in which women students had received their training.

In University College, partly from the late admission of women to its halls, the demand for Modern Language teaching was not very great.<sup>9</sup> French was taken very generally as a Pass subject, and at first there were not large classes for advanced study. We have already stated that it was necessary to take three Modern Languages for the higher honours. The result was that a relatively small number took Modern Languages, but that these reached a high standard may be taken for granted, especially as beyond all doubt Irish men and women have a natural facility for linguistic study.

Mons. Edouard Cadic, whose predecessor was Mr. Bryan O'Donnell, was appointed to the French Professorship in 1894, but he had been for two or three years previously on the College Tutorial Staff. His influence had already begun to make itself felt, and as time progressed became more potent. His personal qualities were an attraction—he was no Parisian but a Breton and therefore of Celtic extraction—and at the time of his lamented death in 1914 the sorrow evidenced by his many friends and former pupils gave abundant proof of his popularity.

As a teacher of advanced students Cadic was very successful. He was able to impart, too, something of his vital enthusiasm for the French authors. For

<sup>9</sup> The study of Irish is not here taken into account, as it has been already dealt with.

beginners his gifts were less suitable, as he cared chiefly for excellence. But the elementary work was not entirely in his hands, and in the junior classes he was ably seconded by his assistants, especially James Macken and Patrick M. MacSweeney, John Bacon, F. Sheehy-Skeffington, and others.

Other European languages, such as German, Italian, and Spanish, were not extensively studied in the old College; and as the demand was not great there was no very ample provision for their teaching. Professor W. F. T. Butler was Lecturer and Examiner in Italian in the years 1893-5, and then, having been awarded a Studentship in Modern Languages, he became a Fellow of the University until the year 1898, when he was appointed Secretary of the Intermediate Board.

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On the other hand, English studies flourished from the beginning, and indeed were a legacy from Catholic University days of Newman, Arnold, and Scratton. Of course there was what would now be accounted a lamentable absence of that specialization which is required for intense study. The idea of combining several departments of the study of the English language and literature, along with English history taken as a separate subject, would be unthinkable to-day. But under the Royal University modern views of study and research were only beginning to filter through the minds of the authorities. The competition for a Junior Fellowship in English and History between Father George O'Neill, S.J. and Miss Mary Hayden in the year 1895 was one that naturally aroused much interest. The series of examinations in the

various subjects resulted practically in a tie. The Senate awarded the Fellowship to Miss Hayden, and to Father O'Neill a special prize of £100. These two scholars did brilliant work both for the College, and subsequently for the new College under the National University. Miss Hayden (now Professor Hayden) had studied Classics at Alexandra College, then the only higher school for women in Ireland. Besides her knowledge of the ancient languages she had learned modern Greek by a long residence in Athens; she was also deeply versed in Irish subjects, having inherited this interest from her father, a distinguished Dublin physician, and one of the original Senators of the Royal; and she also specialized in English History. Her interest was not confined to purely academical pursuits, but as to all that concerned the position of women her influence counted for much during the period when public opinion in Ireland was ripening towards complete enfranchisement.

At the period of her winning the Junior Fellowship, women students were not generally admitted to University College, and the time had not come when women could be included in the College Staff. This was the reason why her claims to a Professorship had to be waived by the Senate, with the result that in 1901, Fr. O'Neill was appointed Fellow and Professor of English in place of Professor Thomas Arnold, who died in the previous year. Father O'Neill's career, like that of his distinguished rival, had been marked by versatility. He had actually graduated in Classics with high honours, but had specialized in European languages, having studied them at the Universities of Paris

and at Prague. His capacity for mental work was extraordinary, and he wrote on various literary and historical subjects. He was, like his predecessor, Fr. Darlington, much given to the study of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama, and was a strong believer in the Baconian Theory. At one time he took charge of the Sodality; and his musical talent was at the disposal of the College, as will be noted later. If we may anticipate, in the new University Father O'Neill was appointed to the Chair of English Language, a subject which was less inspiring than suited his literary gift; but he also shared with his colleague Professor Donovan the work of lecturing upon English literature.<sup>10</sup>

Since the year 1890 down to Professor O'Neill's appointment, Fr. Darlington had a Chair in English as colleague to Professor Thomas Arnold. In 1901 he was transferred to the Chair of Metaphysics in succession to Professor T. A. Finlay. His lectures upon Shakespeare will be referred to in our account of the *New Ireland Review*.

In the same year (1901) Mr. John Bacon, M.A., was also elected as Fellow of the University in English; which office he held down to the changes of 1909 when he became a prominent figure in the new University College as Secretary and Bursar, and later, as member of the Governing Body and Senator. Prior to the period of his Professoriate in the old College he had done good work as Tutor in Latin, English, and French; and had also been Professor at the Training College,

<sup>10</sup> His departure in 1923 for a still wider field of activity in the Australian continent was felt to be a distinct loss to the National University and to Dublin.

**Drumcondra.** At all times he took an interest in the life of the old College, and as Professor of English his lectures were said to be remarkable for their lucidity and grasp of principle. He was a devoted nephew of Father Delany.

About the teaching of Modern History in the College there is not much to be said. In the Royal University programmes the subject held no place of honour, but was merely tacked on to other subjects, as Philosophy, Jurisprudence, or Economics, or, as we have seen above, to the study of English! There was therefore no Fellowship for History as such, and no teacher of the subject had the rank of Professor. As Lecturer in History, Mr. W. J. Carbery, M.A., with First Class Honours in "History and Political Science," taught the subject, and was Examiner from the year 1897. Many of his pupils took high distinctions. He again was a nephew of the President of the College whose name he bore.

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We now come to the department of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, which subjects from the first held a prominent place in the life of the College, especially though not solely on the academic side. We have referred to the fact that Fr. Darlington held a Chair in Metaphysics from the year 1901. In the year 1887 he had been awarded a Gold Medal "for highly distinguished answering" in the subject at the M.A. examination—an honour which in the history of the Royal University was given only once to a Catholic candidate, and once to another. He continued to hold the Chair till the break-up in the

year 1909. Father Finlay had been appointed to a Fellowship at the first election, namely, that held in 1882. He held a Chair at first in Classics, but was transferred in the following year to the Faculty of Mental and Moral Philosophy.

At an early period, i.e. in 1884, controversy was aroused regarding the College courses as representing the traditional philosophy of the Catholic Schools. Those courses were both conditioned by the University curriculum and at the same time were reflected in the examination papers written by the Professors. Now the students at the College of Clonliffe, the Diocesan Seminary of Dublin, were taking Philosophy as one of their subjects for an Arts Degree; and it was objected by one of their professors<sup>11</sup> that the reading required by the University was too wide, and the whole course too modern to suit the requirements of ecclesiastical students. The implication was that the course as given at University College was not what ought to be expected in a Catholic seat of learning. The difficulty was that the Programme was necessarily drawn up with a view to suiting students belonging to various schools of thought.

It was therefore maintained that there was no disposition on the part of the examiners to favour any one school of thought, but that their only aim was to test the knowledge and philosophical grasp of the candidates. However, anyone with practical knowledge of students and their habits and acquirements will understand that the difficulty was consider-

<sup>11</sup> Articles dealing with the subject appeared in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1884—5.

able, especially in the circumstances of Irish education. A very sensible solution was finally arrived at, namely, the adoption of alternative courses, one of which was based more strictly on scholastic lines. The system was found to work quite smoothly, and is still followed in the National University curriculum.

Professor Magennis, who took a Studentship in Mental and Moral Philosophy in 1890, was elected to a Fellowship in Metaphysics in 1893. Previous to this date, besides doing Tutorial work in the College, he had acquired a reputation as lecturer upon English Literature in several Colleges, and had contributed able articles to literary reviews.<sup>12</sup> At the date of his joining the Philosophical Board, there was a tendency to regard this department of study as "Refuge of the Weak," in other words, as a cheap method of graduation. There were other Honour groups which candidates were inclined to take as a soft option rather than taking a Pass Degree for which a larger number of subjects was prescribed, but this group was believed to be in special favour with slackers. Professor Magennis joined with his colleague from Belfast, Professor Park, in a determined effort to deal with this evil. They were both convinced that a smattering of Philosophy is of no use to anyone; accordingly the number of Honours awarded was reduced very sharply. On looking at the published lists we find that, whereas the number of awards had in the decade preceding 1903 been 85 (which gives an average of 8.5 per annum) in that year and the following nine the

<sup>12</sup> See next Chapter for the connection of Professor Magennis with the *Lyceum* and *New Ireland Review*.

number fell to 43 (giving an average of 4·3). The change in regard to First Honours was even more startling—the total of awards in the first decade being twenty, whereas it fell in the second to five.

This process of raising standards had to be applied, we believe, later to other groups of subjects to which inferior candidates had recourse; and we have alluded to it at length as throwing an interesting light on the reassuring statements made in Parliament and by Commissions about the high standard of learning attained in the Royal University and especially in University College.

A number of distinguished scholars passing through the philosophical school owed much of their training to the subtle mind and clear exposition of Professor Magennis. One whom we must specially mention is Dr. John O'Sullivan, now the Free State Minister of Education, who dedicated his Doctorate Thesis on "Pragmatism," presented at the University of Heidelberg, to his Irish Professor.<sup>13</sup>

In the autumn of 1906 the Philosophical Staff received a welcome accession in the person of Dr. Michael Cronin, who was appointed to lecture in Ethics. This distinguished writer and Professor had taken his M.A. in Philosophy with First Class Honours in 1896 from University College, where he had studied under Professors Finlay and Magennis, as well as at Clonliffe College and in Rome. He was also awarded a Junior Fellowship in the same subject in 1905. He was not, however, made Professor till the establishment of the new University when he taught until the

<sup>13</sup> See also p. 349, Academy of St. Thomas.



year 1924, when he gave up academic work for a priestly charge in the diocese of Dublin where he now holds the rank of Canon.

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We have seen that during the Royal University period, scant attention was paid to History as such, and this may be said, we think, to apply also to the study of Economics. The importance of this branch was indeed beginning to gain recognition, but at least in the Degree course the subject had to be taken along with Jurisprudence and History viewed vaguely.

However, in the year 1899 a University Fellowship in Political Economy was established by the Senate to be tenable as a Professorship at St. Stephen's Green. The first appointment was that of W. P. Coyne, who had been already teaching the subject as Tutor in the College. Owing to the establishment in the following year of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and the acceptance by Professor Coyne of one of the most important positions<sup>13a</sup> in the Department, he ceased to have any official connection with the College, but he continued as before to take deep interest in its welfare. Our record will show, for instance, that he attended meetings of the Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas and of the Sodality, of which he was President in 1902; moreover, we shall tell how the Library Conference owed its existence to his initiative. His early death towards the end of 1903 came as a blow to Coyne's many friends, not merely in the College or in Dublin,

<sup>13a</sup> That of Director of Statistics and Literary Propaganda.

but throughout the country. A. J. Kettle, then Editor, wrote in *St. Stephen's*: "Into the thirty-six years allotted to him he had crowded more public service than most men into a patriarchal fulness of days. He paid his debt to the community in many positions, and it may be truly written of him that he filled no position that he did not adorn. Personally he was a man of deep and vital culture, one who might have sat for Newman's portrait of the stainless gentleman."

Considering Coyne's subsequent record, short as it was, we may easily conclude that had he remained longer than a single session at his academical post, he would have proved himself a practical as well as a brilliant Professor of Economics. He was, however, succeeded in his Chair by Professor T. A. Finlay, who now for the second time was transferred to a new Faculty. In undertaking the work of Professor of Economic Science Father Finlay found a singularly congenial field for the exercise of his wide mental endowments. Under his guidance, University College, like many modern centres of learning, soon showed a deepening interest in what certainly ought to be one of the most practical departments of study. In the past no doubt there was a wide prejudice against the science of Political Economy because many persons believed, with or without reason, that it consisted in abstract theorising about matters which must be of vital importance to the community.

Since we have the honour of printing as an Appendix to this section of our history a very authoritative estimate of Professor Finlay's work and influence in his extra-Collegiate spheres of activity, we may con-

fine ourselves to a single remark from the academical standpoint. There could be no suspicion that doctrines about national wealth could be either visionary or sordid if presented by one who, without taking any actual prominent part in public affairs, has been the friend and adviser of statesmen, and has used his talents and influence for the promotion of important movements in education,<sup>13b</sup> in the social and domestic life of the people and in industry, and more particularly that of agriculture. To a warm-hearted man, who has been from his earliest years in close touch with his countrymen, and has made himself intimately acquainted with their real needs and aspirations—Political Economy is no dry and repulsive study, but, more like his pharmacopœia to the practising physician, is a matter of vital concern and one “palpitating with actuality.”

Hence the school of Economics at the old University College had a good and increasing roll of successes, thus preparing the way for the even more striking record of the new and existing College in the National University.

#### *6.—Evening Lectures.*

From the foundation of the College all through its existence, but more especially in the early years,

<sup>13b</sup> We may note here that in addition to his College activities, Professor Finlay has been Vice-President of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society; Commissioner of Intermediate Education; Chairman of the Trustees of the National Library; Editor of a long series of Elementary School Manuals; Senator of the National University of Ireland; Rector of one Jesuit College and Prefect of Studies of another, and President of University Hall. His literary activities are recorded in another Chapter.

Evening Lectures were recognized to be a feature of great importance, as they had been at a still earlier time, when Newman introduced them into his University. They were, of course, followed mostly by those who during ordinary working hours had some regular occupation of business or official life, or in certain cases by students of straitened circumstances who benefited by the lowness of the Fees for Evening Classes. Now, it so happened that at the period we are describing there were quite a number of Catholic young men who had desired the opportunity of taking a University Degree but who had been able hitherto merely to carry on their study privately. These were often well gifted with brain-power and eager to advance in knowledge, so they provided the new College with most useful material not merely for Pass-work but often for gaining, sooner or later, perhaps high distinctions in the roll of University honours. Even in the Medical Faculty, courses of Evening Classes had been in operation for a long period, in spite of the fact that in the complicated work required for medical qualifications it was difficult to keep up, in what was necessarily a secondary course, the right standard of training. It was in fact decided, perhaps properly, by the General Medical Council to forbid any School of Medicine to hold Evening Classes for its students. However, many Dublin persons of good judgment, including members of the Faculty, deeply regretted this action; for they had seen good work done and efficient doctors trained in the courses of Evening Lectures.

In the Arts Faculty any objections which could have

been raised to the system were not so urgent, and in any case there was no effort to abandon it. It is true that, when the new College was organized, a reaction set in against anything that differed from strict Professorial work; and it was several years before the present system was invented which combines tutorial work with a limited number of Evening Lectures given by the Staff of Professors. Within nearly half a century circumstances had changed considerably.

At the earlier date, besides the benefit to the Evening Students, there was in the system another advantage of a secondary nature. A number of the Tutors who were engaged in giving the lectures, and who would otherwise have had to retire from academic work to gain their living, were enabled themselves to win distinctions for the College in the higher University Examinations. There were many who in this way afterwards qualified for professorial appointments, and indeed it is a first principle that nothing is so good for learning a subject well as to teach it. Occasionally the College Professors took some part in the Evening Classes, but this was quite exceptional, and of course a voluntary arrangement. It will be understood that scientific courses which included laboratory work were open only to day students, but with this exception most of the subjects in the curriculum, either of the Pass or Honours section, were included. Large classes were in operation for Elementary Mathematics, Latin, French, and English, and sometimes Greek; and later for Irish, Logic, and Philosophy, and perhaps some other subjects. Honours, some-

times First Class Honours, were occasionally taken in Modern Languages, History, Philosophy and Economics. What is perhaps more important is the number of students who either *gave* or *attended* Evening Lectures, and who attained to high positions in after life. Among them we may mention Sir Walter Kinnear, Controller of Insurance; P. J. Hogan, Minister of Agriculture; J. C. Sherlock, Lord Mayor of Dublin; P. J. Brady, M.P. for City of Dublin; P. J. Merriman, President of University College, Cork; Professor Magennis in his earlier years; Mr. Justice O'Byrne, of the Court of Appeal; John Bacon, Secretary of University College; Con. Murphy, of Republican fame; Henry Cruise, First Class Civil Service; Rev. Patrick MacSweeney, Professor of English at Maynooth; Professor Lennox of the Catholic University of America; John J. Healy, Clerk of the High Court; George Peyton, Secretary of the National Board of Education; Professor James Macken; Professor A. Clery; Patrick Dowling, Registrar of College of Science.

The utility of these Lectures is alluded to by our valued contributor, Professor McSweeney, whose Reminiscences covering thirteen years are given at the end of this chapter. We will also quote here from some notes kindly sent us by the former Registrar, now President of University College, Cork, to the effect that:

“One point you should emphasise with respect to the work of the old University College, namely, that it enabled many, who could never but for it obtain University qualifications, not merely to receive instruc-

tion, but to enjoy the real 'Life' of a University... The inexpensiveness of this education widened the circle of those enjoying its advantages. I speak for myself, but I am certain I speak for many. *And the Evening Lectures spread still further the benefits conferred by the College.*'<sup>14</sup>

The actual numbers attending the Evening Lectures was considerable, especially in the first years of the new College. For the first year there is no exact record; but in 1884 out of two hundred and thirty-seven students forty-nine were enrolled as Evening Students.<sup>15</sup>

In 1886 there were no less than eighty-five; and in 1891 there were forty-two. Thus the number had considerably diminished; but for a long period these Classes were recognized as a signal advantage to the College as well as to those who followed them.

This will be a suitable place to draw attention to the really remarkable record of the College from the early years of its existence, in obtaining high appointments in the public services both in Ireland and elsewhere. There is no doubt that the Evening Lectures were at least a contributory cause to this roll of success, and for that, if for no other reason, we think no apology is needed for giving the following list of names—in compiling which we have had the assistance of one of the collegians in question.

Among College students who passed for India or the Home Service (1st Class) were Michael (now Sir

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Merriman was not himself enrolled as an evening student, but he took a large part in carrying them on.

<sup>15</sup> In the following year the Register names sixteen; but this record must be incomplete.

Michael) O'Dwyer, Michael Keane, John McSwiney, Joseph and Peter Byrne (brothers), Pierce Kent, John Houlihan, Charles J. McGarry, John J. O'Reilly, John P. Doyle, Charles Griffin, John Hooper, Michael McGilligan, Timothy Quinlan, Gerald O'Byrne, Samuel McAlister, Matthew Connolly, Lawrence Dunne, and Timothy Mangan.

The list of successful competitors for clerkships in the High Court of Justice—positions regarded as almost if not quite on a par with the First Class Civil Service appointments—is proportionally even more numerous; so much so that at one time the Four Courts came to be regarded as a sort of Reserve for University College Students. The names are: Patrick J. Hogan, formerly Chancery Registrar; John McNeill, ex-Service; John Healy, examiner; Edward O'Toole, Accountant; C. J. Murphy, ex-Service; C. P. Curran, Registrar; Thomas O'Rahilly, afterwards Professor T.C.D., now Professor University College, Cork; Eugene Sheehy, now Circuit Court Judge; John J. Webb; Matthew Connolly, now 1st Division, England; John J. O'Reilly, now 1st Division, England; Joe (now Sir Joseph) Nunan, afterwards Chief Justice of Blantyre and Attorney General of British Guiana.

### *7.—Developments of Academic Activity.*

In the year 1901 was established a fundamentally new element in the government of the College, an Academic Council elected by the Professors, together with the appointment of a layman as Registrar, who



would take on him certain duties hitherto belonging to the office of the clerical Dean of Studies.

This change was brought about by the President, who realized the necessity of bringing the College better into line with normal University organization, in which the Professorial staff share with the Head a real responsibility in regard not merely to strictly academic matters, but to College discipline in the widest sense. The government of University College had been entrusted to the management of Fr. Delany and the Jesuit Community under circumstances that were far from normal; and the desire to modify the arrangement at the first possible moment was a proof of Fr. Delany's insight and historical knowledge. For even in mediaeval times, when the power of the Church was paramount, and the ecclesiastical authority (usually a Bishop) acting as Chancellor, was regarded as supreme in the regulation of all that appertained to Catholic faith and conduct—yet perfect academic freedom was enjoyed by the Professors even in the matter of teaching Sacred Science;<sup>16</sup> and much more in regard to secular learning and ordinary discipline. Of course there could hardly be a real parallel between mediaeval and modern University organization; but principles do not change like fashions, and the President was acting upon principles which he knew had been thoroughly tried in the past.

Before giving details as to the constitution and the working of the new Council, it may be premised that its operation was somewhat limited. Perhaps this was inevitable as, being created solely by the will of the

<sup>16</sup> Of course, barring what was strictly heretical teaching.

President, it could not exert all the power which is inherent in Academic Councils which hold an entirely independent authority. And it may be admitted that varied and brilliant as were the gifts of the President in regard to his personal action, those gifts did not make it easy for him to practise the virtue of self-effacement even in cases where it would be desirable to do so. The fact was indubitable that in the College the Council was regarded rather as the President's instrument than as a body functioning independently. In creating the Council, the President laid down the principle that he wished it to consist at least mainly of lay Professors; and this was the case. Inasmuch as the Clerical Professors were the ecclesiastical subjects of the President, he thought that their presence on the Council was not so necessary as that of the laymen, but the arrangement had this drawback—that the Dean of Studies was at first excluded. This defect was, however, subsequently remedied.

The Council was to consist of six members, and those elected were Professors McWeeney, Magennis, Cadic, McClelland, Bacon, and Father Darlington as Dean of Studies. The first Registrar was Mr. F. Sheehy-Skeffington. On a Sunday near the end of the Session the election of the Council took place after a lunch given to the Staff by the President in the Aula Maxima. A Report was read by the Dean, and the accounts of the Registrar were submitted to the meeting. This was a matter of importance, because it was arranged that if there were any surplus from the fee-fund of the College, after the expenses of Tutorial lectures and routine payments were deducted,

such a surplus would be distributed *pro rata* among the Professorial Staff. It was always found that no such surplus existed and no distribution ever took place. Father Delany then gave a short address, and one or two speeches, mostly of a complimentary nature, followed. As time went on the feeling grew that the expectations raised by the foundation of the Academic Council were but imperfectly realized.

In his evidence before the Robertson Commission in July 1902,<sup>17</sup> Father Delany laid stress upon the existence of the Council and especially upon its consisting chiefly of lay Professors with a lay Registrar and including a member who was not a Catholic. He added that "all the business of the College is submitted to the Council and carried out according to their decisions." The Commissioners would, no doubt understand that the time had not come for full academic autonomy, and that it was hardly possible for the Jesuit President efficiently to transfer from himself and the Order which he represented the authority which the Bishops of Ireland had imparted to them.

Besides, nothing said here must be taken to imply that the change was in no sense effectual or beneficial to the life of the College.<sup>18</sup> On the contrary its success was in some directions well marked; to establish it was a wise and necessary move in the direction of reform, and it gave a much-needed object lesson of what a properly constituted College should be

<sup>17</sup> See Report of Robertson Commission, Vol. III., p. 557.

<sup>18</sup> We shall later have occasion to refer to the influence of the Council in promoting the admission of women to the College. See Chap. XII., p. 457.

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expected to carry out under more favourable circumstances.

In the year 1904 Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington was obliged to resign his position as Registrar. There was at the time an active controversy on the question of the full admission of women students to the College, a subject upon which the Registrar felt so strongly that it was impossible for him to restrain his indignation at what he considered an injustice to the gentler sex.<sup>19</sup> His advanced views as to sex equality had caused him on his marriage with Miss Sheehy to prefix her name to his own, and he showed some tendency to be fanatical on the subject of feminism.

He was succeeded in the Registrarship by Mr. P. J. Merriman, F.R.U.I., now President of University College, Cork.

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In January 1902 the College again took an important step which was mainly due to the initiative of the Academic Council, and which not merely extended the usefulness of the College, but brought it more into line with the practice of most modern Universities. This was the inauguration of courses of lectures for the benefit of the outside public as well as for students of various Faculties. They were to be given in the Aula Maxima upon Thursday afternoons,<sup>20</sup> mainly by the Professorial Staff, but also, in certain cases, by distinguished scholars not belonging to the College,

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter XII., p. 466.

<sup>20</sup> The courses were known as the "Afternoon Lectures," and are not to be confused from those given to students and known as Public Lectures. These will be mentioned elsewhere. See p. 458.

and would include all sorts of subjects whether scientific or literary.

Such courses in Dublin were known to draw good audiences, having been arranged, not so much perhaps by Trinity College as by the Royal Dublin Society, or the Royal Irish Academy, and sometimes by individual lecturers, such as Monsignor Molloy on popular science, M. Guilgault in French, and others. As the Professors of University College had been frequently in request for courses outside the College, it was naturally thought expedient to allow them to appear upon their own ground in preference to outside institutions. As soon as the proposal was mooted it was taken up with enthusiasm and proved to be very successful. One result of the Lectures was that the work of the College became more widely appreciated by the citizens of Dublin. Father Darlington, as Dean of Studies, aided by a small committee of Professors, arranged the original series of Lectures. It was intended that they should continue each Session from November to May, but in some years the course was shortened. In the first year lectures were given by the President, Professors Sigerson, Conway, Magennis, O'Neill, Darlington, Ryan; and by Mr. Lyster of the National Library, and Dr. Douglas Hyde.

At first it was arranged not to make any charge for admission, for it was felt that nothing could benefit the College more than to interest intelligent outsiders in Dublin in its teaching. After about two years it was found practicable to charge a small fee for each Lecture, or a reduced fee for the whole course from

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January to May. This charge applied only to persons not enrolled as students of the College.

Several of these Afternoon Lectures were of importance, and our readers may like to have some particulars about them. Among the most popular was the one given by Dr. Douglas Hyde on "The Last Three Centuries of Irish Literature." The learned scholar maintained his belief that the Gaelic poetry of the last two centuries was the most successful ever made to convert music into words and words into music, and that in any other language than Irish it would be impossible to convey with the same rhythm the richness of expression and the perfection of the harmony. Dr. Hyde also passed some severe strictures upon the slackness shown by the Royal Irish Academy in regard to collecting and preserving MSS. containing works in modern Irish. The Hall was full to overflowing, and the lecture was well reported in the daily Press. During the same year Professor Conway (afterwards F.R.S.) gave a Lecture, with lantern, on "Waves of Light," in which he remarked that an average wave-length bears to an inch about the same relation that an inch bears to a mile. This was his *début* as a public lecturer, and we have it on the best authority that he made on his audience the same kind of impression which he has since maintained. Professor Darlington lectured on the "Founders and Factors of European Civilization." Following out Cousin's idea that each epoch is dominated by its own Idea, he maintained that from St. Augustine to Dante and from him to Shakespeare, that Idea was Christianity, by which he understood "love of God *and* our

neighbour, as contrasted with the love of the creature merely in itself." Other lectures of the first series were by Professor Sigerson, on "Greek and Indian Theories of Matter"; and Father Delany, upon "Recent Discoveries in Egypt," with special reference to Old Testament history.

In the following Session, 1903, lectures were given by Professor Cadic on "Lamartine"; Mr. H. Seymour on "The Origin of Scenery Round Dublin"; Professor McClelland on "Recent Advances in Electricity," in which he explained the theories of the so-called New Physics; Dr. George Coffey of the Royal Irish Academy on "A National School of Art"; Professor Browne on "Ridgway's Celtic Theory of the Homeric People"; Dr. Molloy on "Wireless Telegraphy"; and Rev. A. Cortie, S.J., F.R.A.S. on the "Evolution of the Sun." Nearly all the above were illustrated with lantern views.

Later, Professor Magennis, who had helped much in the organization of the Afternoon Lectures, lectured upon "Criticism and Art"; Professor Bacon upon "Christopher Marlow"; Professor Denis Coffey upon "The Place of Medicine in a Modern University"; and Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington, the College Registrar, upon "Henry Grattan."

A course of lectures upon Dante which created special interest was given by Father George Bartoli, an Italian Jesuit Father<sup>21</sup> of considerable eminence, who happened to be temporarily residing in the College. But perhaps the most celebrated course was

<sup>21</sup> We regret to add that the later history of Fr. Bartoli, who is now dead, was a very unhappy one.

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that given by Mr. (afterwards Professor) John MacNeill<sup>22</sup> upon "The Coming of the Celts to Ireland."

After the year 1904 the Afternoon Lectures did not arouse so much attention, and we hardly find them alluded to in the College Journal. There can, however, be no question that the record we have given, containing as it does a brilliant list of names and an interesting series of subjects, is a proof that at least for the period in question University College was no mean centre of intellectuality.

### *8.—External Aids to Academic Growth.*

It would be hardly generous or even just to omit from this academic record of University College all reference to those institutions in Dublin which gave signal help and without which the achievements of the College would have been much more difficult. The most notable of these was undoubtedly the National Library, which was fortunately in close proximity to St. Stephen's Green. In the College there was not any library worth speaking of, whereas the National Library was peculiarly well stocked with books of study. Moreover, the Librarian, Mr. Charles Lyster, had nothing more at heart than to make his institution helpful to students, and he had no objection to hear it called jokingly "the Library of University College." He was a man of immense energy and spared himself trouble not at all. He was delighted when Father Darlington brought him a promising student who required special help as to his reading. If he had any fault it was an over-eagerness to help

<sup>22</sup> This subject has been touched upon earlier in the chapter. See also p. 302.



others which at times could be embarrassing, and he was apt to be short-tempered. But his staff and all who came in contact with him knew that there was no limit to his goodness and willingness to put himself and his library at the disposal of students. It is no wonder that for the College, in its straitened circumstances such a favourable opportunity proved to be a priceless boon.

The relations of University College with the National Museum, which faces the Library in the same scheme of buildings, if less important, were marked with no less cordiality. The Classical and Egyptian collections, though not large, could not be despised, and were not seldom put to good use by the students. The system under which the Museum was organized was hardly favourable to higher education, as it was in the hands of a Government Department which was mainly interested in industrial and technical matters rather than in Archaeology and the Fine Arts. On the other hand, this unfavourable system, which was a relic of earlier and still worse conditions, was counterbalanced as far as could be by Count Plunkett, Mr. J. J. Buckley, and the other members of the Museum Staff. They did all in their power to make the Museum an instrument for the advancement of learning in Ireland; and next to the Celtic Section, which we must refer to later, they were particularly interested in Classical and Mediterranean culture. With the assistance of Professor Browne the Pre-historic Greek Section was much improved.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> At a later date the collection of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman pottery was augmented, and is now truly representative of all periods.

## *External Aids to Academic Growth* 237

Another institution with which the College was in close relation, though not to the same extent of indebtedness, was the Royal College of Science. It was moved during our period from St. Stephen's Green to the new building in Merrion Street, but at no great distance, being in the same group of buildings as the Library. The College of Science, being a Government institution, was well endowed, and had expensively-stocked laboratories and collections of various sorts, to which the members of University College could by permission have access. The relations between the Staffs of the two Colleges were cordial, some of the Staff at Merrion Street—in particular, Professor Hackett—having been trained at University College. In the later years Mr. Patrick Dowling, who was, as we have said, for years on the Mathematical Staff of University College, became Registrar at Merrion Street.<sup>24</sup>

We may here add a word about other learned bodies with whom the College came at least slightly into contact. The Royal Dublin Society arranged courses of lectures annually on literary or scientific subjects, mostly by Professors of Irish or British Universities. Quite a number were appointed from University College, including four or five Jesuit Professors and perhaps a larger number of the lay staff. As the lectures attracted large and intelligent audiences, the arrangement was beneficial and it enlarged the scope and sometimes the reputation of the College teaching. It need hardly be said that a large majority of the

<sup>24</sup> It is, of course, generally known that after the establishment of the Free State, the College of Science became entirely merged in the new University College.

College Staff were members of this Society, and this, too, brought them into contact with academic persons and movements.

Less need be said about the Royal Irish Academy, except that as a learned body with a long national tradition, and with its membership open to members of the College, it was found useful to many. To the Celtic students its collection of MSS. and printed books was, of course, invaluable. The Irish Antiquities, including the unique and famous collection of gold ornaments, were, then as now, kept in the National Museum under charge of a special Keeper (during our later period the late Mr. Edmund Armstrong). It is needless to say that though this priceless collection was at the disposal indeed of the public, more particular aid in using it was readily given to genuine students of Celtic Archaeology.

Lastly, the Orchestral Concerts regularly given at the Royal University—under the baton first of Dr. Joseph Smith and later of Signor Esposito—proved a boon to the College. Though the concerts were organized by a private society, the University retained the privilege of disposing of a number of the best seats for the Senators and their friends, and in fact these performances of the great symphonies and other classical and modern masterpieces were largely attended by the Professors and students of the College.

## APPENDIX I. TO CHAPTER VII.

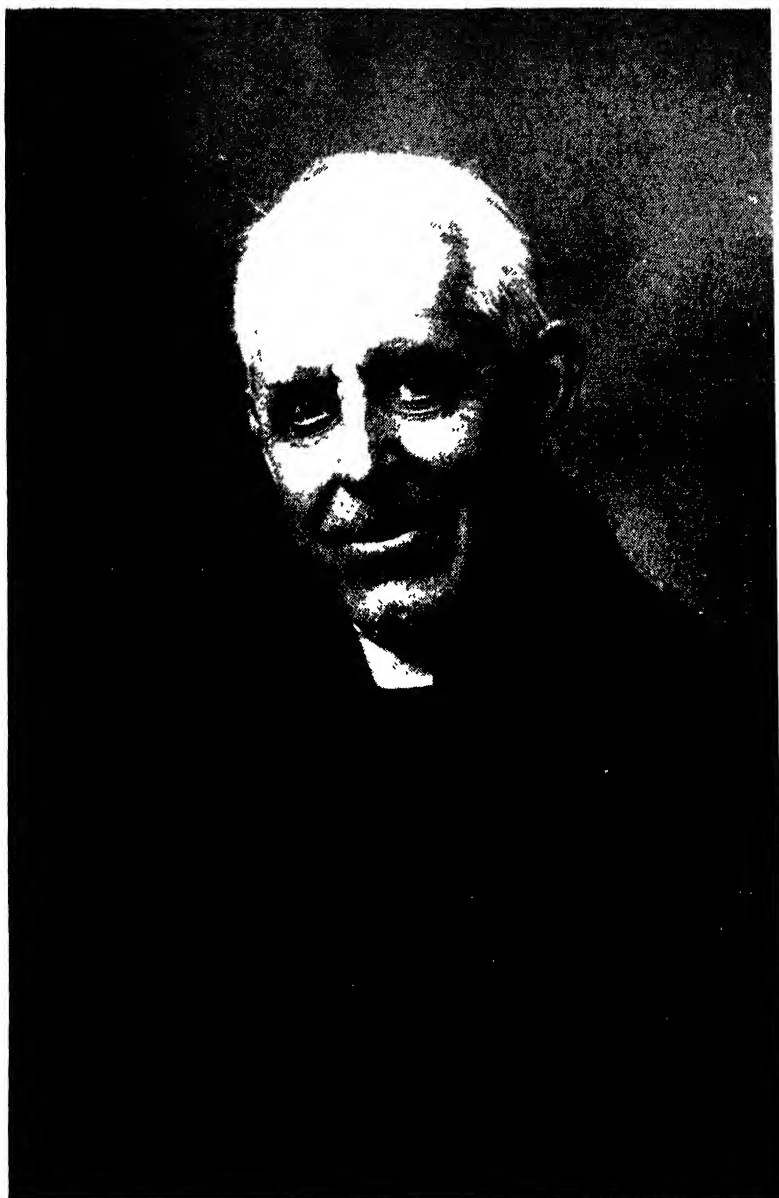
*Recollections of Rev. Professor P. M. MacSweeney,  
M.A., St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.  
(1890-1902)*

I gladly accede to the request to give my reminiscences and impressions of University College during my time as student and Lecturer there. I came to the College in 1890, having finished the Intermediate Senior Grade Course. Needless to say it was a new world to me—this old Georgian house with its students, its lay professors in gowns, and the occasional passing of a Jesuit Father from the public rooms to his *sanctum* upstairs. Materially small as the establishment was in comparison with the great State-endowed institutions, to a young Irish boy it throbbed with huge possibilities for the future. He found in it an extension of his Catholic home, and he found in it that union of the religious and secular life which is the characteristic of a great Catholic School, University College, or University. It is only in after years that one comes to realise fully the importance of this union.

Naturally the young student is full of ambition. I can recall many a heart-to-heart talk with my fellows in which we mapped out ambitious careers and wonderful schemes—some of which have been fulfilled, some of which are but memories of youthful idealism. We were a motley crowd—Arts and Medical students—but motley as we were, there was a solidarity amongst us inspired by fidelity to the College and to those who ruled it. It is needless to urge how important

in the formation of character is this unifying spirit of a great College, how potent it is in steadying and strengthening a student's character. As a proof of this, one has but to take stock of those who have of late years won high reputations in Irish public life. It is safe to say that in scarcely any department of that life will one fail to meet a past student of old University College. There would, I am sure, be no difficulty in giving statistical proof of this.

I have a vivid memory of the old Arts' class-rooms. They were certainly not luxurious. A long, green baize-covered table, chairs, and a black-board, and at the head of the table the Professor. The meagre endowment of the College serves but to enhance the work done in it. Before specializing for B.A., I attended lectures in Classics, Mathematics, French, Logic, English, and Irish. Fr. Henry Browne was our Classical Professor. As I was rather bent on the Modern side, I fear I could not do justice to the fine opportunity afforded me. In Mathematics we had as Professors Mr. H. McWeeney and Mr. Preston, whose early death cut short a great career. Of Mr. McWeeney it is scarcely necessary to speak, for his reputation as a teacher is long established. He had an unrivalled power of making the difficult easy. Professor Preston's enthusiasm for his subject, even though one were not mathematically inclined, was an inspiration in itself. I recall clearly the earnest and incisive tone in which he said to me one day: "MacSweeney! Live on a crust and do mathematics!" Preston was then lecturing on pure mathematics, though, as is well known, his chief published work



REV. JOSEPH DARLINGTON, S. J.



is on Physics. In the department of Physics we had Professor Huston Stewart, whose gentle and diffident manner made him a favourite. In addition to his lectures, we attended in the Theatre simple experimental demonstrations by the Rev. Dr. Molloy. These lectures were popular, but we were awed by the magisterial tones of the Rev. Professor as he summoned to his aid the indefatigable and ubiquitous George. During the Second Arts Year I attended a course in Logic by Professor Magennis. He had a happy knack of stimulating interest which made an otherwise dry subject attractive. My first Professor in English was Father Darlington. In addition to teaching that subject he was Dean of Studies. His kindly disposition and marvellous uniformity of manner made him an ideal Dean. We were never afraid to approach him, and that, from a student's point of view, is a colossal virtue. In my Degree years I specialised in English, Irish, and French. I have to thank Professor T. Arnold and the Rev. Edmund Hogan for launching me on the line of studies I have since pursued. Others will, I am sure, do justice to the public work of both, but I should like to say how they struck a young student in those days. My attitude towards Mr. Arnold was one of reverence. He was in manner not donnish, but shy. A slight impediment in speech accentuated this impression. When, however, you came to know him intimately this disappeared and he was quite outspoken and, when stirred, enthusiastic or passionate. I read a very full course of English Literature with him for B.A. and M.A., and in the last year I was his only pupil. I felt



it was a unique privilege to read, say, Wordsworth, with one who belonged to the most intimate Wordsworth circle. I remember how pleased he was to show me a copy of poems presented to him by Wordsworth and inscribed "To my young friend Thomas." His father, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, went to live in 1832 at Fox How in Westmoreland, between Rydal and Ambleside. His son Thomas was then nine years old, so that he, like his poet-brother Matthew, grew up in the full 'Lake School' atmosphere. He was thus for me a link with a great tradition. His published work is scarcely an index to his real temper. He was rather quixotic and liked to tilt at the vane. He, however, contributed to the Rolls series an edition of a mediaeval work, edited *Beowulf*, and compiled with W. E. Addis the well-known *Catholic Dictionary*. But none of these reveals the radical and fiery imagination which Arthur Hugh Clough unmasks for us in *The Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich*, and which I caught sight of when he recited such lines as those of Keats:

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird!  
No hungry generations tread thee down."

I was fortunate in being able to put to immediate use his training in English Literature. The University selected in 1896 as subject for 'The Chancellor's Gold Medal for English Prose' "The Love of Nature in English Poetry." He was quite pleased when I succeeded in winning it.

With Father Edmund Hogan, S.J., I was also closely associated as a student. Under him I read a course

## *Recollections of Prof. MacSweeney* 243

in Irish. He was devoted to the study of the older stages of that language, and, at the time I was with him, he was Todd Professor of the Royal Irish Academy. His chief interest lay in textual work, though now and then he could give expression to a pungent criticism of some passage read. I need not recall here the long list of his published works, but I should like to say that in a way I co-operated with him in the preparation of some of them. In fact, Dr. Hogan's conception of class teaching was quite unconventional. He can, indeed, scarcely be said to have had a class in those days: at least I think I was, for most of the time, his sole pupil. His class was held upstairs. He sat with his back to the window, book in hand, whilst I, his pupil, sat at a small desk near the door. A screen, decorated with political cartoons, kept off any draught. Thus arranged we plunged into the grammatical delights of Bedell's Bible or *The Battle of Ros na Righ*. When the class-hour had finished, he enquired if you had some time to spare. Needless to say I always had. Then he produced his 'slips.' He had them everywhere! Thousands of them! I spent hours and hours writing on them words and phrases with references to context. It was thus he compiled his *Phrase Book*, his *Onomasticon*, etc. At the time it seemed terrible drudgery, but now I believe it was a good way of breaking in a young student and of showing him the labour that must go to the attainment of real scholarship. I might mention that Professor John MacNeill had been his pupil previously, and he, certainly, has done justice to his former master,

My student days over, I was invited by the Rector, Father Robert Carbery (I believe at Professor Browne's suggestion), to come on the Staff of the College, as to which the statistics of successes will testify to the work done by it. I remember meeting W. P. Coyne one day on the steps of the National Library. He had just left us to take up the post of Secretary to the Department. I congratulated him on his new appointment. "Oh!" he said, "Thanks! but the real work for Ireland is being done over there," and he pointed towards the College. I think he helped in what were known as the "Night Classes," and I am sure you will not fail to emphasize the splendid work done in these. They met a crying need; for at that time, owing to the absence of scholarships, burses, etc., so plentiful to-day, many of the ablest students of the Irish Secondary Schools had their academic careers cut short. Some of them, however, were enabled to continue, owing to the establishment of the "Night Classes" at University College. Those who attended them were mostly men who had been at business during the day, and it was a source of intense pleasure to help those who were pursuing knowledge under such severe conditions. The "Night Class" movement fully justified itself by the results.

I said at the beginning that in University College the young student found an extension of his Catholic home. That this was so was due in large measure to the College Chapel and its religious exercises. In these the Catholic student found, amidst the distractions of secular studies, the ultimate synthesis. I believe he felt this all the more from the fact that

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those whom he looked up to intellectually in secular were frequently his directors in spiritual science. There can be no stronger spiritual influence on a young undergraduate than that of seeing simple faith combined with high intellectual power.

I trust these few jottings, from memory, of impressions of our old College shall be welcome to the Editors of the History, though I am quite sensible how small justice they do to a great subject, and I fear that I may have omitted some names that deserve a mention from me. But at such a distance of time it is hard to recall everyone.

P M MacS.

## APPENDIX II. TO CHAPTER VII.

### *Sir Horace Plunkett on Professor Finlay's career as Social Reformer.*

This book, which I have not yet seen, is primarily a chapter in the history of higher education in Ireland. Its authors desire to give a faithful description of the part played by the Society of Jesus when it took charge of the University Cardinal Newman had conceived and partially established. They further believe that it will add to the interest of the book for the general reader if a few independent outsiders tell what they know about the work, other than academic, done by the protagonists in the educational achievement they have undertaken to record. Thus it came to pass that I was asked to give some account of the part played by Rev. Thomas A. Finlay, S.J., in connection with the movement for the reorganization of Irish agriculture. Out of this movement, as will be seen in the following brief sketch, grew certain other services to Ireland, in which also he took a leading part. Perhaps the narrative I am about to put together will serve the purpose the authors have in mind.

It must be distinctly understood that what I write below is nothing more than some discursive reminiscences of one who has very largely moulded my own life work. How much of the narrative is relevant to the purpose of this book, the authors must decide. The discerning reader will not fail to perceive that, behind what I disclose, lies the story of a remarkable living Irishman who, for a full half century, laboured

disinterestedly for the moral, social, and economic uplifting of the Irish poor.

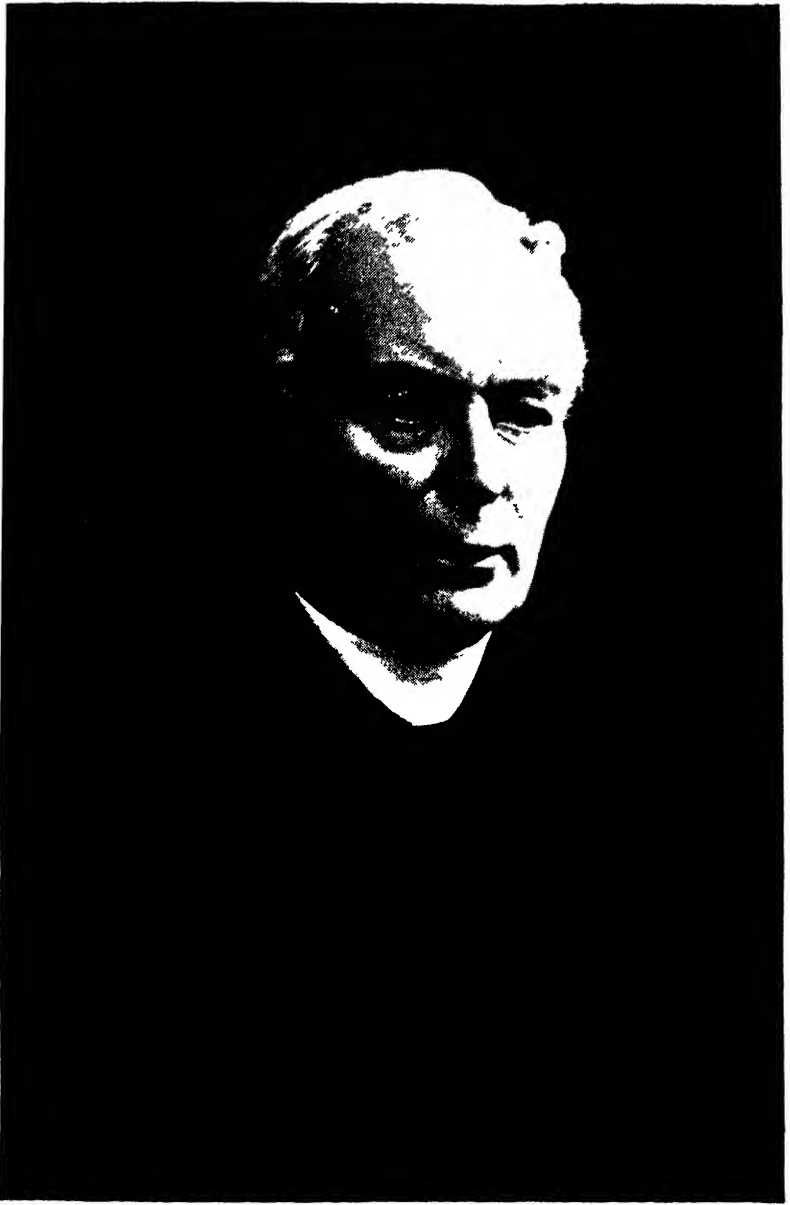
I began my Irish work in 1889. I think it was in the next year that I made a speech to farmers in Munster upon co-operative dairying, which was reported in the Press—probably my first platform effort to win that distinction. Father Finlay saw the report and took occasion to call on me and tell me that he was in entire sympathy with the views I had tried to express. I think I had heard of him, but that was all. By my English education and by every influence brought to bear upon my upbringing in Ireland, I must have been strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits. Nor could he have been accused of lack of charity if he had entertained the gravest suspicions of the motives which underlay my Irish activities. I remember he told me that he was not interested directly in agriculture but had just been travelling on the Continent, and had made some study of the support given by the clergy of his Church to agricultural co-operative movements which appeared to him to be practically identical with that which I was advocating for Ireland. He had little time, he said, for social service, but in the course of our conversation he told me of the appalling conditions of the Dublin slums, where some 20,000 families—perhaps 100,000 souls—were living in one-room tenements. It was clear from what he said that much of his spare time was devoted to that baffling problem.

We then had a most helpful exchange of views upon what was possible in the field of my own particular endeavour. In company with a very few

and wholly unimportant friends, I had been working out a scheme—chiefly on paper—for reorganising Irish agriculture upon the co-operative plan. It happened that the dairying industry of the south was, just at that time, threatened with destruction owing to the recent invention of certain machinery and methods which for the first time made it possible to produce butter to meet the demand of the modern market for regular supplies of food in bulk of uniform quality.

The Irish home-dairying industry was of immemorial antiquity. Soil, climate, and cattle were all favourable, and the farmers' womenfolk were extraordinarily efficient in this manufacture. But alien capitalists saw their opportunity and were beginning to erect creameries in the most favoured portions of Munster. It was quite clear that in the immediate future all but the largest dairy farmers would have to make a choice upon which their future prosperity or the complete ruin of their industry would absolutely depend. They must either combine together as their competitors in Continental countries were doing, to erect creameries and operate them at their own risk and for their own profit; or else they must sell their milk to those who were in a position to manufacture the butter which the market demanded. They must, further, sell it without the intervention of unnecessary middlemen, who would fleece producer and consumer alike.

This is no place to tell the story of the Irish co-operative movement. All that is relevant to my present purpose is that it brought together two Irishmen as diverse as could be found, and that it furnished a cause in which they could work together—in which



REV. T. A. FINLAY, S.J.





they are working together to the present day. I was the son of a Protestant landlord. I was ignorant of everything I ought to have known for the work to which I had set my hand. He was a deeply religious man engaged in educational work, a Professor of Moral Philosophy and Economics. I had no claim whatever on his time; but he told me that, as far as his other duties permitted, he would give me any help in his power to enable me to overcome the obvious and formidable difficulties of the strange task in which he found me engaged. That meeting led to his being the kindest and most loyal friend I have ever had in a work which has made my life worth living.

The work, as I have intimated, began with a grandiose scheme for nothing less than a reorganisation upon co-operative lines of the industry upon which the prosperity of every section of the Irish people directly or indirectly depended. The obscure band of practical idealists with whom I was then associated have all passed away, with the solitary exception of R. A. Anderson, a genius at the special work of organising small cultivators. We had been brought to earth by the definite task I have explained. We went about among the dairy farmers, holding meetings of them whenever we could get them to come and listen to our proposals. At first it was only when we had the support of a parish priest or curate that we could get a hearing. Father Finlay used to hold Retreats and Missions throughout the country in the course of his religious work. He told me that when he had concluded his religious exhortations, he always found time to speak on the duties of the

young clergy as citizens. He told them, as he had told me, of the way in which the clergy of his Church supported agricultural co-operative movements in Continental Europe. We could always tell where he had introduced the subject, even when he may not have thought it prudent to associate himself with our group, for we had aroused the bitterest opposition among certain traders, who did not neglect to call up the politicians to expose our insidious designs.

The success of the earliest co-operative creameries led in 1894 to the founding of what was then a new agency of rural social service, namely, the Irish Agricultural Organization Society (the I.A.O.S.). It had become known that the distinguished clerical economist had blessed the movement altogether. Had he been a layman, no other President of the I.A.O.S. would have been considered for a moment. As things were, it was thought better for me to assume that office, and he most generously, and with full knowledge of the misrepresentations to which his action might expose him, consented to be Vice-President—a post to which he has been unanimously re-elected at every annual general meeting to this day.

It is his connection with this Society which gave “Father Tom” (as he is affectionately but reverentially called by the thousands who know his service to rural Ireland) his opportunity to drive home his social and economic principles for agricultural development. But his outstanding achievement in this field was the popular exposition of the co-operative idea in the days of its struggle for existence. I will give one or two illustrations of his genius for probing and dealing

with the extraordinary difficulties of the task we had undertaken. I believe he comes partly from Presbyterian—possibly Scottish—ancestry; at any rate, he was born in Co. Cavan, on the borderland between north and south. He knew both with equal intimacy—another invaluable qualification for our work. He was as much at home with Orangemen as with Roman Catholic Nationalists.

On one occasion we had arranged to address a meeting in a district where practically all the farmers belonged to the worshippers of the glorious, pious, and *immortal* King Billy—who, like Mrs. Eddy, somehow died. At the last moment we found that the member of our group who was to have addressed the meeting could not go. It was important not to disappoint these good Ulstermen, still more so to have the subject introduced to them by a thoroughly competent exponent. The only one available was Father Finlay, and it was not certain that his reception would be warm in the best sense. Nothing daunted, he stepped into the breach, and no speech from the Irish co-operative platform was more fruitful in its result.

He began by explaining the accident which accounted for his presence. He admitted its incongruity, but assured his audience that, so far as he was concerned, he saw no reason why either a Jesuit or an Orangeman should allow the events of two centuries ago to interfere with the practical affairs which they had come together to discuss. He understood that considerable feeling was occasionally aroused over a battle fought on a famous river not far to the south of where he stood. After all, he

went on to remind them, the quarrel was not between Irishmen but between a Scotchman and a Dutchman. "Surely," he said, "if these two worthies have not by now settled their little difference, we might leave it to them—that is, if too great a gulf does not divide them!" There followed a luminous and convincing case for the immediate establishment of a creamery. After he sat down, I was told by a friend who had met some of those present at the meeting a few days after it was held, an elderly, much-bewhiskered Presbyterian rose and said, "This mon has spoke raal worrds o' sense. Let's hae the cramery and ha' done wi' yon." They had it, and it's a thing of joy to this day.

I remember attending a meeting in another part of the borderland where Father Finlay, who was among his own people, was to be the chief speaker. On this occasion the people of the district were about evenly divided, religiously and politically. I heard to my dismay that the Orangemen and the Nationalists had both marched to the meeting with their flags and bands. I asked my friend if he did not scent trouble. "Not at all," he replied. "I must just see the bandmasters." By tactful diplomacy, the most provocative air on each side was deleted from the programme. It was not quite so easy to secure an agreement that they should play alternately and not together; but even this concession was arranged, and a pleasant and useful day was enjoyed by us both.

The general meeting of the I.A.O.S. was always the most important occasion of the year for the advancement of the movement, and Father Finlay's speech

never failed to say just what was wanted to clear up misunderstandings which were the inevitable result of speeches in the country made by less clear exponents of the principles for which we stood, I myself, it must be confessed, too often being the worst offender. On one of these occasions, a creamery in a most favoured district, over the starting of which Father Finlay had taken an infinite amount of trouble, had come to grief owing to disregard of the non-political and non-sectarian rule in the constitution of all our societies. It was in the days of "the split," and the committee of the peccant society was evenly divided—perhaps necessarily so—between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites. Father Finlay began by telling the story of their disastrous venture and used with wonderful success his inimitable power of so telling a tale that its moral will draw itself. I could repeat this part of his speech almost verbatim, but will only give the last three sentences, leaving the reader to imagine the rest. After telling the sorry tale of the final collapse, he ended: "Unhappily, when the crisis was imminent, someone raised the no doubt important question: Who ought to be the ruler of the Irish people at home and abroad? That issue was debated at several successive meetings; no conclusion was reached, but bankruptcy ensued. I daresay every member of the Committee felt himself competent to govern the country—all they collectively demonstrated was their incapacity to manage a churn!"

I have chosen Father Finlay's support of the agricultural co-operative movement as my contribution to the understanding of this great Irishman because

no man now living knows more intimately how it all began. There is another reason which must be mentioned but cannot be fully told. It is well known to all interested in Irish economic history that the political opposition to the movement led to a remarkable change in the English policy in Ireland in the last five years of the nineteenth century. It was common knowledge that the farmers of many continental countries were as hard hit by foreign competition as were the farmers of these islands. This new adverse economic factor was, of course, due to the opening up of vast tracts of virgin soil in the United States and other far-off lands, combined with rapid and cheap transportation. But in other countries the governments helped farmers in a way precluded by the sacrosanct doctrine of *laissez faire* in these islands. It was argued, with a good deal of truth, that this necessary assistance made an enormous difference in favour of our competitors in the British market. Although we never wavered in our insistence upon the immensely greater value of organised self-help than of State assistance, the case for exceptional treatment of the Irish farmers became overwhelming. The case was stated by the Recess Committee, a then wholly unprecedented union of Irishmen outside of politics or religion. It is not generally known that it was Father Finlay who guided the propagandist work which was needed to get this remarkable body to come together for one of the greatest politico-economic achievements in Irish history.

The non-political agitation for exceptional treatment of Irish agriculture and industries which was initiated by the Recess Committee, came to fruition in the year 1899. The chief credit for the masterly drafting of the historic Report must be given to Mr. T. P. Gill, who was justly rewarded by being selected for the chief permanent post in the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which opened its doors in April 1900. The working head of the Department, under its novel constitution, had to be a Member of Parliament and, for well-known reasons, no Irish Nationalist member could fill the post. Thus it happened that upon me fell the burden of that office, the duties of which were wholly new to me. The appointment made me chiefly responsible for setting the Department to work and formulating its policy during its first seven critical years. Space forbids any attempt to describe the problems with which it was faced, but one important consideration must be borne in mind. Its success or failure was bound to depend chiefly upon the degree in which the local administrative bodies which had to administer and partly to contribute out of the rates to the expense of its miscellaneous development schemes, gave it effective support. This required an immense amount of propaganda and persuasion; and in the most delicate and difficult negotiations, which finally resulted in the best men up and down the country putting their backs into the work, the quiet, conciliatory influence of Father Finlay was of inestimable value. If I ever have time and strength to leave behind me some reminiscences of this period, I may be able to demonstrate



the truth of this statement beyond the possibility of doubt.

\*                      \*                      \*                      \*                      \*

Here I must end. Never did I feel conscious of having written both too much and too little—too much, I fear, from the point of view of the authors of the book; too little for those who know Father Finlay's service to Ireland and would like to see it adequately appreciated. One rather malicious purpose (as no doubt it will appear to my friend) will, I think, have been served. In the *Anglo-Celt*, an admirable provincial journal, of April 6, 1929, there is a full report of a remarkable gathering of Father Finlay's friends and admirers in his native Cavan. It brought to a head a spontaneous movement for letting Father Finlay and his countrymen know what was thought of his service to agricultural Ireland. At an ideally representative banquet a memorial was presented to him. Speaker after speaker vied with one another in their praise of their distinguished guest. Father Finlay, of course, had to make a speech, and it was the only occasion on which I have known him to show a reckless disregard of the truth. He admitted that he had taken some part in the events to which I have referred, but gave to myself and more worthy fellow-workers of his in those far-off days the credit for almost every detail of the work of which he had been in many cases the initiator, and in every case the chief inspirer.

Such is the man as I have known him intimately for forty years. I have borne witness only to activities the direct result of which I was in a position accurately to gauge. If it had been within the scope of this Note

to give some account of those pupils who for more than two generations have profited by his moral and economic teaching, several of whom are in high official positions in Saorstát Eireann and elsewhere, the indirect benefits he has conferred upon his country will make the services I have recorded seem small indeed. My contribution—a poor thing but mine own—has been a labour of love.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

### APPENDIX III. TO CHAPTER VII.

#### *Professor Douglas Hyde, D.Litt., on the Career of Professor George Sigerson.<sup>1</sup>*

So many were the attainments of Professor George Sigerson, and so various his interests, that it is difficult to properly appraise them; but the most striking thing about him, taken as a whole, was his own career, during which he worked incessantly, never wavering in his affection for things Irish, never halting in giving his allegiance and best service to the cause of mankind and of his own country. As an Irish scholar he was the last link that connected us with the era of O'Donovan and O'Curry,<sup>2</sup> and one of the last that connected us with the men of '48, with Kickham and with Mitchel. He had known them all, shared their counsels and aspirations, befriended and sheltered many of them, and could tell of them from the intimacy of close association in a way that was the privilege of no other living person.

He was not the child of any one province; he was all-Ireland, and one might even say cosmopolitan. Born and reared near Strabane, but with a Kerry ancestry, educated partly in Galway, partly in Cork, and later on in Paris (in close touch with the Irish there), he typified all that was best and broadest and sanest in our race. He always boasted that he came from the old Norse. He often told the present writer that

<sup>1</sup> This article is reproduced with a few excisions, from *Studies* of March, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> He was one of the Committee of publication of the Ossianic Society so far back as 1859, along with John O'Donovan.

"Sigerson" was only Sicar's or Sigurd's son, and that though his people had been in Ireland for many hundreds of years they had never changed, as most other families had done, the "son" for "mac," or made out of "Sigurd's son" Mac Sigrir. His northern upbringing was betrayed in his speech, which was deliberate and rather slow, never by any accident outrunning his thought, as so often happens among our Milesians, but rather labouring behind it; a characteristic which had at least the effect of imparting to what he said an air of considered conviction.

The following are the chief facts of his life so far as can be ascertained, and for them, especially the medical ones, I am largely indebted to the kindness of the President of University College, Dublin.

He was born at Holyhill, near Strabane, on the 11th of January, 1836. His family was of Kerry origin. They were settled at Ballinskelligs, where their graves are to be seen in the old Abbey, and where the remains of their ruined castle still stand out gaunt and grey against the western sea. One Christopher Sigerson appears amongst the list of the transplanted Irish in 1654, and Dr. Sigerson was probably of the same family.<sup>3</sup> If so, heredity would sufficiently count for his strong national sympathies. He received his early schooling in Strabane. After that we find him at Auteuil in France in the first years of Napoleon III, probably in 1852-1853. He there gained a school prize for Latin verse, and it is an interesting coincidence, showing already what was the drift of his mind, that

<sup>3</sup> He was engaged on a work about the Sigersons at the time of his death. He told me, if I remember rightly, that one of them had been Mayor of Liverpool.

it was for a translation of "The Exile of Erin" he won it. Few careers are more striking in their continuity than his, for he was thinking of or working for his country all the time. The prize was presented to him, as he well remembered, by the grand *amônier* of the Emperor, and he had a vivid recollection of his travelling home from France in the blue uniform of a scholar worn at that period.

He matriculated in the Queen's University in 1855, when he was eighteen years old, and studied in the Faculty of Medicine in Queen's College, Galway. He continued there for about two years, winning a first year scholarship in medicine. In his third medical year he removed to Cork and studied there in 1857 and 1858. At that time a medical course only lasted for four years. In Cork he won a further scholarship, in the third year. In 1859 we find him attending surgery lectures of the final year in the Catholic University School of Medicine in Cecilia Street, Dublin. In this year also he gained First Honours in Celtic, apparently in a special examination held *ad hoc*. There appears to have been at that time an Honours prize in Celtic and another in Sanscrit. Sigerson got First Honours in Celtic and another man First Honours in Sanscrit, and in the Calendar they are bracketed *ex aequo*. These awards in Celtic and Sanscrit appear to have been introduced in 1852 and not to have been continued beyond 1864.

In 1859, after taking his M.D. in Queen's University, Sigerson appears to have gone to France, probably to do post-graduate work for a couple of years. In after times he dedicated some of his medical work to his

beloved master Duchenne (de Boulogne), under whom he must at this time have been studying. He was also, either then or later on, in close touch with Charcot at La Salpêtrière; but as Charcot, born in 1825, was at this time a comparatively young man, it is probable that Sigerson studied diseases of the nervous system under him at a somewhat later period. In advanced life he used to refer to Charcot more than to any of his teachers, and he paid back his debt to his master by translating his book on Nervous Diseases, with valuable notes of his own, in the New Sydenham Society Series. At this time the famous French zoologist, Milne Edwards, took a leading place in Natural Science, and the still more famous Claude Bernard in Physiology, and Sigerson was deeply imbued with the spirit of their work. His studies in Science and in Medicine were conducted along the lines of these great masters. His outlook on Science was a French outlook; his attitude towards Medicine was a French attitude. In other words, he blended theory with actual practice, and applied theory to actual practice in a manner very different from that of the English or the Germans, who tend to dissociate the two things. It is almost certain that had Sigerson been attached—which he never was—to a large hospital, he would have been one of the outstanding physicians of these islands.

In 1865, after he had been for six years an M.D., he took his Degree of M.Ch. in the Queen's University. His first appointment was in the Catholic University of Ireland. The minutes of the Medical Faculty show that his appointment to be Lecturer in Botany was

made in April 1865, and his first lectures were delivered in the summer of that year. This was the beginning of his connection with the Medical School of the University, which was to last in one way or another without a break for fifty-eight years.<sup>4</sup>

In 1881 the Royal University was founded, and in the following year most of the first appointments of Fellows and Examiners were made. These included the then teaching staffs of the Catholic University College, that is the Arts College in St. Stephen's Green and the Medical School in Cecilia Street. Sigerson was first appointed Examiner in Natural Science, and two years later, in 1884, he became Fellow and was made one of the special Examiners for the Diploma in Mental Diseases. He remained a Fellow of the Royal University until that institution was replaced by the National University of Ireland in 1909, when he became Professor of Zoology, a post which he continued to fill until his retirement in 1923.

All through his career he must have been conscious of a divided allegiance between Science and Literature. As he lived and worked he grew from strength to strength; and Ireland, which was never out of his thoughts, became ever more and more his debtor. He was an early and continuous worker in the cause of an Irish National University. His research work in physiology and pathology was known and quoted by men like Professor Senator of Vienna and Dr. Noth-

<sup>4</sup> The Medical Faculty at this time consisted of the following : Andrew Ellis, Surgery; Robert D. Lyons, Medicine; W. K. Sullivan (afterwards President of Queen's College, Cork, *clarum et venerabile nomen*), Chemistry; R. Cryan and T. Hayden (father of Professor Mary Hayden); F. B. Quinlan; J. A. Byrne; S. A. MacSweeney.

nagel of Berlin; the latter in his book on *Gehirnkrankheiten* adopts Dr. Sigerson's classification. But he was better known in France, where Paul Bert, the physiologist, proposed him for the membership of the Clinical Society, Paris, and Charcot for the membership of the Society of Physiology and Psychology, and Henri Martin, the historian, for the membership of the Anthropological Society. Tyndall said that his researches revealed the true nature of organisms in the atmosphere whose presence he himself had detected, and Darwin proposed him for election as a Fellow of the Linnean Society.

One of the old '68 men, a great friend of the doctor's, said to me one day, in what must have been a moment of dyspepsia, "Sigerson is as vain as the devil." He certainly had reason to be vain—but he was not. He was perfectly unobtrusive, and this was one of the finest traits in a most lovable character. Amongst his other scientific publications as well as *Microscopical Researches on the Atmosphere*, was one on Heat as a factor in (so-called) Vital Action; the cause of buoyancy of bodies of greater gravity than water; the Changes in the Physical Geography of Ireland; Additions to the Flora of the Tenth Botanical District; Note sur la Paralysie Vasomotrice généralisée des membres supérieurs (Duchenne de Boulogne) in *Le Progrès Médical*, 1874.

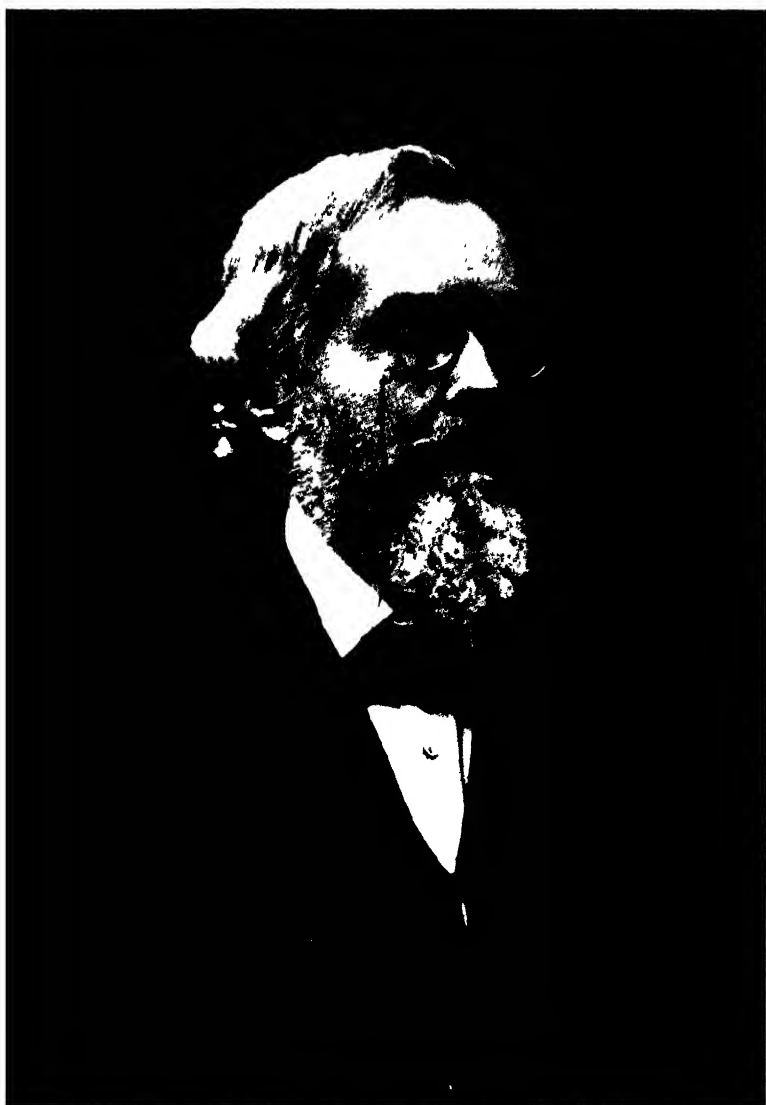
But deeply interested as he was in Science, his early love, I think, was literature, and he never neglected it to the day of his death. Nor can it be said of him that pure literature had more attraction for him at one period of his life than at another. In him his



mind was so broad and his genius so varied, and the elements so kindly mixed, that Science, Economics, History, and Poetry all through his life appealed to him with almost equal force, though I have a suspicion that the appeal of poetry was the strongest.

As far as 1860 we find him engaged upon his first literary effort and one that appealed to him with peculiar force. A dozen years previously John O'Daly had published a volume called *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, for which Clarence Mangan wrote the English translations in verse. Sigerson now proposed to take up the work of Mangan, O'Daly no doubt supplying the texts. O'Daly was a fine Irish scholar of the old traditional type, and had acquired as a result of ceaseless searching a great number of Irish MSS. He had made an excellent collection of poetry out of these for Mangan. He now laid his collection before Sigerson, and between them they produced the Second Series of *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*. Sigerson wrote his own Preface and many of the notes, all interesting, and translations into English verse of forty-six poems.

O'Daly was a curious personality. I knew him when I was a young student in College and used often to go into his little dingy bookshop in Anglesea Street to talk Irish to him. He was the only person I knew in Dublin, except O'Neill Russell, who could talk it. He used to sit behind a worn deal counter in his shop, with piles of books—mostly unsold volumes of the Ossianic Society—running round his shelves and stacked up in all directions. In Sigerson's case it is probable that O'Daly first collected the MSS. and then



*Signature*



placed them before Sigerson and submitted them to his judgment—than which there could not have been a better. He may also have got some of his pieces in the Royal Irish Academy. This fine collection of modern poetry, together with the O'Daly-Mangan volume, made in all an anthology of one hundred and eight poems. The publication of these volumes was an act of national significance which, at the time, no one even suspected. The verse translations of both volumes are the least satisfying thing in them; but the poets were carrying out a convention, begun by Miss Brook, and continued by Hardiman and Walsh, which seemed to demand with every Irish poem published a translation of some sort into English verse. Few, if any, of the English poems out of either volume are likely to find an abiding place in anthologies.

It is probable that Sigerson from this time forward kept in view the publication of further translations from the Irish. I made his acquaintance when I was a student, and he used sometimes to read me a poem. I had the pleasure of dedicating my *Love Songs of Connacht* to him in 1894, thirty-four years after his own work had appeared, no translated book of Irish poetry having been published during that long interval. Three years later he produced his *magnum opus*, the *Bards of the Gael and Gall*, which—*parvis componere magna*—he dedicated to Gavan Duffy and to myself as representing the Gael and Gall respectively. In this new book he gave us translations of 139 Irish poems, a long vista of bardic compositions leading back and ever back from the present into the dim, remote, almost mythological, past. It was a splendid thought

to take the reader by the hand and conduct him along a road the like of which could scarcely be travelled over in any other land in Europe. He begins with three lays of the Milesian Invaders, and then goes on to the Cuchulainn period (about the time of Christ), then to the Finn period (about three centuries later), then to the Ossianic poems, then to poems of the "Christian Dawn" and the "Early Christian" pieces, then to poems of the Gael and Norse (this is, perhaps, the best section in the book), and after that to the "Gael and Norman," thence into the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century, songs of the emotions, folk songs, and finally two paraphrases from the Gaelic.

Between science and pure literature lay the great field of philanthropy and politics, and in this domain Sigerson was no less distinguished. He had, as quite a young man, been chosen along with T. D. Sullivan to present a magnificent sword of honour to General Patrick MacMahon destined to become the first President of the French Republic. This was in 1860, and we may read about it in Mitchel's *Jail Journal*. Sigerson had a great admiration for Mitchel, made him Paris Correspondent of the *Irishman*, and arranged for the publication of his *Last Conquest* (*Perhaps*) in serial form in the same paper.

I suppose that, with an ever-growing clientèle and the pressure of his University work, he gradually gave up ephemeral writing and interested himself in the bigger things of literature. He was appointed Medical Commissioner to the Dublin Mansion House Committee when Ireland was threatened with a famine, and

typhus broke out over the west in 1879-80. He and the late Dr. Kenny made a minute tour of the districts affected, chiefly Mayo.

Three years later he was appointed a member of Lord Spencer's Royal Commission on Prisons. As a result of his labours many improvements were made in the dietary and treatment of prisoners of weak intellect. Reforms inaugurated by him were afterwards, I have been told, adopted largely in England. It was, no doubt, his experiences on this Commission which prompted him to compose his valuable work on political prisoners which appeared in 1890. In this volume he compares the different treatment of different classes of prisoners in the various European countries, and shows that England stood alone in her savage treatment of political misdemeanants.

The land question, which, to many at the time, seemed the Irish question, had already claimed his attention, and he had, as early as 1871, published the *History of Land Tenures and Land Classes in Ireland*, the proofs of which were read by Mr. Gladstone, and that statesman found the knowledge he derived from them very useful when introducing his Irish land legislation; Lecky also quoted it with approval.

In 1891 or 1892 the National Literary Society was founded. The present writer was the first President of it, and his opening lecture was on the necessity of De-anglicisation. But he resigned when the Gaelic League was founded in 1893, and Dr. Sigerson became President and presided over its fortunes until his death. During these many years he poured forth in his presidential addresses a stream of interesting know-

ledge upon the most varied subjects—all, however, connected with Ireland—which when we look back upon it almost takes our breath away. His minute knowledge of the most out-of-the-way facts and the most abstruse problems of history was marvellous. Where did he get it all? He never had many books about him; I hardly ever saw him reading, and yet he knew or seemed to know everything—at least, everything connected with Ireland. He was often urged to put the erudition contained in these lectures into a book or books, and I imagine that he intended to do so if he had lived longer. A friend told me he had seen a letter from Lord Acton, in which he described Sigerson as “the best Irishman I have ever known,” and I believe he pressed him to collaborate with him in his *Cambridge Modern History*. It was Sigerson who wrote for Barry O’Brien’s *Two Centuries of Irish History* the chapter (110 close pages) which deals with the eighteen years which elapsed between the grant of Legislative Independence in 1782 and the Act of Union in 1800, and his presentation of the story is masterly. The first edition of this book appeared in 1888. Thirty years afterwards he elaborated this chapter in the volume called *The Last Independent Parliament of Ireland*, and his Appendix contains many interesting facts relative to the condition of our fisheries, kelp-making, the bounty system, the curing of fish, the export of fish, the probity of Irish merchants, their enterprise, the Irish salt duties and salt policy, and other matters, all well documented and showing the amazing advances made under a native parliament.

My personal recollections of Dr. Sigerson date back to my college days. I first saw him with old John O'Leary, to whom he was exceedingly kind, as he was to all who had worked or suffered for Ireland. On the strength of having seen him with O'Leary I plucked up courage and spoke to him one day. He looked hard at me in a very chilling, in fact intimidating manner, and said: "You have the advantage of me": but when I told him I had met him with O'Leary he at once thawed and became friendly, and I flatter myself that I never lost his friendship. Not only was he interested in the Irish language but also in Irish music. He was one of the Feis Ceóil. He was interested enough in athletics to give a cup for inter-collegiate competition. His chief relaxation and hobby seemed to be the search for miniatures. His extraordinary and unique collection of Napoleonic and other French miniatures was exhibited for a long time in the National Museum and attracted great attention.

He either was, or pretended to be, inordinately proud of his Norse ancestry. I think that even his best friends did not quite know how far he was in jest about this or how far he was in earnest. He always resented or pretended to resent any implied slur upon the Norsemen, whom he credited with all the virtues. He certainly looked, himself, like an ancient Viking from a Norwegian fiord, and I have been told that in his youth his hair was really red, though it was not so in my time. He had a very keen sense of humour, but was never unkind. Having once heard me deliver what, I suppose, must have been an indiscreet lecture, some time after the Parnell split, when it was difficult



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not to say something to offend somebody, he told me that I reminded him of a little boy running round a garden and shaking each several beehive as I passed along—just to see how many bees would come out and buzz! As a poet he was best as a lyricist. When the late T. W. Rolleston and his father-in-law, Stopford Brooke, brought out their *Treasury of Irish Poetry in the English Tongue*, they commissioned me to get some poems from Sigerson. It was then I discovered for the first time how sweet and how original a lyricist he was. I sat up with him one night until four o'clock, and he read me a great number of original lyrics, four or five of which entranced me. I picked out three original songs for Rolleston's book, "The Swans of Lir," "The Rowan Tree," and "Far-away," but the editors preferred translations from the Irish and only printed the last one.

He came to see me take my seat in the Senate about ten days before his death, and his last words to me, after listening to the discussion for a while, were: "This is good work, you know, careful work, sound work." He died in his ninetieth year in the full enjoyment of his faculties, and Ireland will not forget him and cannot replace him.

—AN CRAOIBHIN.

## CHAPTER VIII.

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### PUBLICATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE COLLEGE.

1. The College Journals.
2. The "Lyceum " and "New Ireland Review."



## PUBLICATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE COLLEGE.

### 1.—*The College Journals.*

WITH the new century a period of renewed activity in all directions, but specially in regard to student social life, set in; and on June 1, 1901, a College paper under the title of *St. Stephen's* was started. The undertaking was continued for a space of five years, but lapsed after June 1906; and after an interval of a few months was succeeded by *Hermes*, a publication of a somewhat different character. In the first number of *St. Stephen's* reference was made to the fact that the *Catholic University Gazette* had been started by Cardinal Newman (by a coincidence also on June 1st) just forty-seven years previously, with, however, the important difference that Newman's paper is addressed to the students, while *St. Stephen's* will be conducted by the students. Newman (the article proceeded) had prophesied that in one hundred years he could foresee a flourishing University in Dublin with successes far exceeding their anxieties—yet now after fifty years the College was still struggling with its fortune. "But the seed sown by John Henry Newman, and watered by the prayers and alms of countless multitudes of the Irish race at home and abroad was of excellent quality, and will yet become a wide spreading tree of knowledge." The Editors also plainly declared that the new venture was emphatically a students' journal, and that with them will rest its success or its failure.

The name *St. Stephen's* was chosen after prolonged discussion<sup>1</sup> in order to indicate that the paper was the organ of University College located in St. Stephen's Green; but the sub-title "A Record of University Life" was appended to indicate that the journal would not be carried on in a narrow spirit. It was indeed intended as far as practicable, like the College Societies, to embrace the interests of the Medical School,<sup>2</sup> and in some degree that of the general body of Catholic and National students. As this is a matter of some importance, we transcribe a paragraph from the Editorial of the opening number.

"Our pages will be thrown open generously to the Medical Faculty. It is bound by strong ties to University College, where we believe hardly a class meets at lectures but contains one or even many whose careers will be spent in checking the inroads of disease or in plying the chirurgien's knife. The strain of work at 'The School' in Cecilia Street has been of late relieved by the introduction of sprightly debate, and by the vigorous wielding of the *camán* in the Phoenix Park, in less degree perhaps by the recreation afforded by the 'Medical and Scientific Society.' Our Medical friends will supply us with attractive accounts of work in these associations and elsewhere."

And in another article 'Chanel' writes: "We hope that one of the effects of this publication may be to bring the students of the College and the Medical

<sup>1</sup> It was afterwards observed that the title being recondite might possibly suggest some hidden relation to the Houses of Parliament; but this drawback, if it was one, was neglected.

<sup>2</sup> It will appear later that as time progressed, though the title of the paper remained unchanged, the connection with Cecilia Street became more organic and formal.

School into closer relations. The want of this is sadly felt at times of special excitement. We do not suggest a breach of the peace, but there are many occasions on which it would be well for us to be in a position to act together. At present ‘divided we fall.’”

It was stated in this first number that the undertaking, though a Student's Journal, was started with the sanction of the College authorities. In fact at the beginning it had the co-operation of a member of the Jesuit Staff, who carried on the negotiations with the publishers,<sup>3</sup> and Father Delany undertook to make good any financial loss. The format of the paper, which was moderately but often cleverly illustrated, was distinctly attractive. What is more important is that all through its career the ability shown by the student Editors and contributors was exceptionally high, with a marked variety in the style and spirit of the matter communicated. And as writers of eminence (members of the Staff and others) also contributed articles, the interest and real value of the journal was considerable.<sup>4</sup> Among these papers we may mention one in February 1902 by the author of *My New Curate*, Canon P. A. Sheehan, entitled “Certain Elements of Character.” These were defined as Heredity, Associations, and Education; the two former were styled ‘derivative’ and the latter ‘formative.’ According to his wont, the learned essayist quoted from Carlyle, Tennyson, and Fitzgerald,

<sup>3</sup> Messrs. Sealy, Bryers & Walker, then of Mid. Abbey Street.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the more serious papers had been read at the Library Conferences, or some other of the College societies. (We need hardly point out here how useful has been *St. Stephen's* in the compilation of this volume.)

contrasting the philosophy of the latter (in his version of the *Rubáiyát*) with that of Thomas à Kempis in the *Imitation*—as he put it, the “tavern” with the “temple.” We venture to quote the following fine passage. “We cannot conceal our contempt for the voluptuary who goes out of a useless life by a painless death. It is not to such we build temples and erect statues. But to the soldier who flings away his life for his country, to the physician who takes up the typhus and small-pox patient in his arms, to the apostle who goes out to unknown lands and joins the tribe of the narrow-heads to redeem them, to the priest who becomes a leper to save the lepers... or to the silent student in his attic who is weaving at the cost of life and brain-power immortal thoughts for his brethren, to these does our admiration extend, and the example is a tonic for a world that would believe :

‘One flash of Light within the Tavern caught,  
Better than in the Temple lost outright.’”

Just two years later (in February 1904) the President, Dr. Delany, communicated to *St. Stephen's* a letter which he had addressed to the Lord Lieutenant on the Irish University question which was, of course, printed in full. This was a rejoinder to a Memorial, also addressed to the Lord Lieutenant, by the Governing Body of Queen's College, Belfast, while the Robertson Commission was sitting. Father Delany's letter was the basis of the later pamphlet entitled *A Plea for Fair Play*, which was generally understood to have moved public opinion in England

as well as in Ireland, and to have driven the Government to its action which we shall describe elsewhere.

From the Medical School came an important paper from Professor Denis Coffey, which was read at the Library Conference on February 16, 1902. It was entitled "Evolution—Old and New," and the writer insisted upon the important distinction between 'causal' and 'modal' evolution. In regard to the 'Descent of Man' it was pointed out that Catholic theologians were not at the time in entire agreement in their attitude towards this problem. The matter had been discussed at two meetings of the Library Conference, and naturally the paper caused considerable interest among graduates and students.

Professor Sigerson was among the contributors to *St. Stephen's* from its inauguration. He wrote on "Two Irish Heroines and a Benefactor," and "The Adventurous Intellectuality of Ancient Ireland."

Professor Browne wrote somewhat optimistically on the "Classical Association" about the time of the foundation of the Irish Branch, in which he was taking a leading part; Professor George O'Neill gave a study on the "Nature-Background in Shakespeare"; and papers were also communicated, among others, by Professors Cadic, Finlay, Conway, Magennis, E. J. McWeeney, Darlington, Doctor Cox, Surgeon McArdle, George Coffey of the R. I. Academy, W. P. Coyne, P. M. MacSweeney, M.A., and James P. Kerr, LL.D.

Among the younger men there were contributors of excellent papers upon literary subjects. T. M. Kettle wrote not over-enthusiastically on the "Poetry of Lionel Johnson"; James Joyce on "Clarence Man-



gan ”; Cruise O’Brien on “Wordsworth as a Teacher.” Other writers of signed contributions were Hugh Kennedy (later, Chief Justice of Ireland); Arthur Clery (later, Professor of Law); James A. Murnahan (later, Justice of Appeal); Felix E. Hackett (later, Professor of Physics); J. M. O’Sullivan (later, Minister of Education); Thomas Bodkin (later, Curator of the National Gallery); John T. McDonald (later, Solicitor to the National University); and T. J. Madden, whose early death, much regretted by his comrades, was recorded in a former chapter.

Among women graduates contributing signed serious articles were Miss Maud Joynt, M.A., who wrote upon “The Cult of Culture,” and Miss Mary Pelly, M.A., upon the “Niobe of Nations.”

In other ways the students of the Women’s Colleges were staunch supporters of *St. Stephen’s*. In every number they contributed notes on interesting events and movements, generally taking pseudonyms, and often writing with characteristic humour upon the academic topics of the day. For the first year of the Journal the notes written jointly by Miss May O’Kennedy and Miss Mary Pelly (signing as “Olla Podrida ”), were styled “Girl Graduates’ Chat.” Later this title was considered undignified and the caption “From the Ladies’ Colleges ” was substituted. In the Ladies’ Notes are interesting accounts of debates held and papers read at their Colleges. For instance, in March 1902 we read of a discussion over which Professor Darlington presided, on a paper upon the “Florence of Dante,” by Miss Lilian Murphy, in which

5 Sister of the Editor-in-Chief.

Miss Pelly, M.A., Miss O'Kennedy, B.A., and Miss O'Farrelly, M.A., took part. We may say in passing that at one time the opinion gained ground that the Women's Notes were not sufficiently flippant—except indeed when they were surreptitiously composed by members of the (male) Staff in the Editor's Office.

We may now proceed to give the names of the Editors and their minions who may or may not, in dealing with the fair, have abused their editorial opportunities. The first staff was headed by Hugh Kennedy, B.A., as Editor; and included Felix Hackett (Secretary), John O'Sullivan, J. C. McHugh (Medical), James Murnaghan, M.A., and A. Clery, B.A. After a year Kennedy went to the Four Courts, and Hackett became Editor; a Medical sub-editor was appointed in the person of J. N. Meenan, who, with two colleagues of his profession, was to edit the News from the School; J. P. Doyle became Secretary; and T. F. Bacon and W. Dawson joined the Staff.

In December, 1903, a more drastic change was made, namely the formation of a Representative Council, elected by Arts and Medical Undergraduates out of their several constituencies. There were to be five on each side; and the ten thus elected were to co-opt six who were not Undergraduates, and were therefore ineligible for direct election. T. M. Kettle, B.A., became Editor, Doyle and Madden sub-editors, Hackett again became Secretary, Clery and James O'Kelly, B.A., joined the Staff. In the following year, 1905, John Kennedy became Editor, with two Arts and two Medical sub-editors,<sup>6</sup> and was succeeded by Con

<sup>6</sup> Including Joseph Boyd Barrett, the Football Captain.

Curran in the same year. In 1906 there was again a complete *bouleversement*, Cruise O'Brien becoming Editor, with two Arts and two Medical sub-editors; and P. J. Little, Manager, with two Arts and two Medical sub-managers—thus making in all a staff of ten. The most revolutionary, but very sensible, change however, was the admission of a lady, Miss Bawn Griffin, as one of the Medical sub-editors. She began her task by offering a reward for a suitably vituperative epithet for her brother and sister Medicals, whose iniquitous conduct in refusing to buy the paper exceeded her own vocabulary! The new staff would have to deal with troubles ahead, but it bravely held the reins of empire until *St. Stephen's* not ingloriously succumbed to the blasts of the hurricane. But this tragedy will be reserved for a different context.<sup>7</sup>

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The most enjoyable columns of *St. Stephen's* are those written in lighter vein. There is a vast amount of fun on every conceivable subject, grave as well as gay. The wit and humour is by no means all of one quality, though it would as a whole bear favourable comparison with that of similar publications. But two or three of the contributors rise above the ordinary level, we think, to real literary distinction. This is most true of 'Chanel'—we need not shock his modest and retiring nature by naming him, though once he was alluded to as Chanel-C\*\*\*y. He was almost the soul of the journal, and wrote pretty regularly on very various subjects and in somewhat different styles, but always with the same quiet humour, pungent but not

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter XIV., p. 549

bitter; good-humoured and yet with an underlying sincerity which sometimes tended towards indignation. In a word Chanel was (shall we add, is?) the impersonation of Young Ireland, a charming blend of Don Quixote, Peter Pan, and Molière. At one stage a ‘Martha Chanel’ appeared upon the page; she, too, was charming, but no one could answer the question “Is Chanel, then, married?” or, as seemed more probable, “Is this Chanel’s maiden aunt?” Speaking of his articles, she said, “He’s only a soft creature. It would be much better if he set about doing some work and earning for his family instead of writing silly trivialities about himself.” She was inclined also to be a bit hard on the ‘Girl Graduates’—whom she calls giddy young creatures—never (she adds) having had a University education herself. As to co-education, she thinks “it would be hard on women to have to be brought up with such fools as most men are nowadays!”

But Chanel could be serious enough when he liked. In February 1904 he wrote an article entitled “Cui Bono” complaining that “our men do not get on well in life,” and concluding that if you want to be “Leader of the Queen’s navee” (or of anything else in the world) *do not stick to your books*. This rather doleful theory is backed up by an analysis of one hundred Senior Grade Exhibitioners, of whom about twenty-five per cent. had since graduated in University College. Among the latter, of those who did not enter the English Civil Service or the Indian Colonial Service, or a Religious Order, only two were in the First Division of the Civil Service in Ireland. The

rest were as follows:—One librarian and one clerk in the Royal University; one clerk in the High Court of Justice; one a journalist; one a Professor in a Training College; one a Medical grinder; and two Secondary Teachers; one a University Tutor; and one a solicitor. Of these ten he thinks that only two or three earn incomes of £400, the rest being under £200. Then comes the final groan—*one of them earns less than £20 per annum!*

Naturally this Jeremiad caused discussion and elicited various opinions which found expression in the following number. T. M. Kettle, who was at this time Editor, seems from his remarks upon the contribution to sympathize with its spirit, and so did T. F. B. Here again it would be superfluous to tear down the veil of quasi-anonymity; T. F. B. wrote a fearfully pessimistic article, entitled “The Clouds” quite out-Chaneling Chanel, and apparently more distinctly autobiographical.

Then an answer appeared in the following number of the Journal, entitled “Cui Malo.” The writer of this article signed it as “One of Our Men,” but it was perfectly well known that it came from the pen of Father Darlington, who, as Dean of Studies, resented what he considered a serious attack upon higher Catholic education in Ireland. At the same time he characterised the article as a piece of “delightful fooling”—which was, we consider, scarcely accurate. The fact was that Chanel had given alarm to a distinguished Dublin citizen, whose name is not disclosed,<sup>8</sup> but he also had called at the College to

<sup>8</sup> It is gently hinted that he had Scotch blood in his veins.

express officially his regret at the melancholy state of affairs now revealed; and this naturally caused a feeling of irritation at the article. In declaring that "*Cui Bono*" only represented one of Chanel's frequently changing moods the Dean may have hit on a truth—but the mood was a deadly serious one, and to say "*Chanel is nothing if not humorous*" was a doubtful proposition. If we turn to the positive arguments of the reply, they are more satisfying. Chanel's statements are challenged on several points of detail, which we need not follow; but taking the whole record of the twenty-four men's careers, they are declared to constitute a "*splendid result.*" We transcribe the following telling, if somewhat emotional paragraph.

"Two of the cases cited, we are told, are '*Secondary Teachers.* Note the implication the word '*Secondary*' must convey to the uninitiated. He ought, I suppose to be '*primary*' if he be worthy to a place on the '*valued file*' of getting on well. And please do not let the anti-climax escape comment; all through the gloomy calendar of failures we get worse, and worse, until we touch bottom at last, and, here it is! '*And one is a barrister!*' And who and what is a barrister, I would ask in the name of the Four Courts, that he should be at the bottom, a pebble in this heap of ruins made out of the '*after-life of our men*'—an after-life extending from twenty-one to twenty-eight at most?"

Lastly the writer complains to '*Chanel*' that the test of getting on well in life by our men is not money nor notoriety but a higher standard of life. This again

might be thought not very fair, inasmuch as the incriminated writer had chosen one particular topic to which he rightly confined his remarks. If the reader desires to know 'Chanel's' own views as to the higher aspects of College life at St. Stephen's Green, he will find them well expressed in the article given in Chapter IX., page 372.

We have alluded to this controversy in the pages of *St. Stephen's*, not merely as an illustration of the 'actuality' of that magazine; but also as bearing upon the value of Catholic higher education at the period on its more material side. For though 'Chanel's' attack was mainly aimed at the Intermediate System, it had also reference to the results attainable by the courses given at University College. The *pros* and *cons* were both stated vigorously, and we rather think the 'honours' were divided between the combatants.

Turning now to T. F. B's articles, we must disagree with one of his remarks. "There was a time when I endured torture to justify my position on *St. Stephen's*. For I made heart-breaking efforts to conjure up a little 'fun' (save the mark!) out of a miserable brain into which neither nature nor art could ever introduce a grain of humour... Thank God those days are gone; and Chanel, Doyle, and Dawson can now grind on, ceaselessly feeding the insatiable hoppers in the weary mills of mirth." It is indeed sad that T. F. B. suffered such torture for the benefit of his readers. But one of them can assure him that he underrates his power of humour. Some of his articles were really funny, and well worth a passing mention in our pages. For instance in "In the Valley of Shadows" (December

1902) he recounts the descent of a representative of the Journal (owing to an *infernal* compact made by ‘Felix,’ the Editor) to the Shades. There he first meets Bacon, Shakespeare, and Johnson, and their conversation is quite up to Chanel’s best vein. The poem, *Venus and Adonis*, and half of the Sonnets are attributed to Queen Elizabeth—and the rest to a venerable ecclesiastic of her Court. But soon Julius Caesar came into view, bringing down a volume of Universal Biographies which, he said, existed for the purpose of exposing hollow literary shams. As, however, this paper circulates among the young, no episodes which include scandal must on any account be opened up. And so on, and so on. Very dry and quite readable—of course jokes when taken from their context lose some of their effect. In March 1902 a description of a skating party, “Three Men in a Frost, to Say Nothing of the Twins” (though signed B. D. O’S.) may be assigned with little hesitation to the pen of T. F. B[\*\*\*n].

Then there was one who boldly gave his signature as John Kennedy, of whom Bodkin gave a clever cartoon with the appellation, “Oh, Rare John Kennedy!”—John, brother of Hugh and therefore a scion of a brainy family.<sup>9</sup> We have seen already that in 1905 he followed his brother in becoming Editor of the journal. Jack was full of mirth and the cause of mirth to others—for one thing, because you could never tell what he would do or say next ! His part in the “Battle of Earlsfort Terrace” will be told, but here we are

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately Mr. John Kennedy is now compelled to live in South America, having suffered severely in the War, and not being able to trust the Irish climate,



concerned with his humour. We can only refer to one of his pieces, which is a gem of satire, entitled "Alice at the Debate"—and (as a parody) unsurpassable. Incidentally Alice sees the Hatter "raving but thinking beautiful thoughts produced by the remarks of the White Bishop who sat near him." ('The Hatter' in *St. Stephen's* always means 'Jimmy' Joyce).<sup>9a</sup>

John Doyle and William Dawson also contributed humour, and some of the writings in the Women Students' page were well up to the level of their brothers' work.

A considerable amount of verse, mostly satiric, is included in the contributions. Its quality varies, but on the whole it appears to be distinctly good. Some few pieces are written in Irish. Of the English, one of the cleverest, but a little biting, is an elegy by T. J. M. on the Earl of Meath, alluding to his resignation of the Chancellorship of the Royal. We quote elsewhere a poem by F. E. Byrne.

The illustrations also deserve a word of commendation. Two Cartoons by Tom Bodkin, which we reproduce, speak for themselves. The head-pieces occurring throughout, signed 'Clan' were done by James Clandillon; and the architectural head-pieces of the later numbers by Jas. I. Walsh, C.E. Those by T. F. B. are wanting in technical skill but show some originality.

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>9a</sup> During his student days James Joyce was not taken seriously. It was understood that he had a weird sort of talent but no one in the College seems to have guessed that he was destined to achieve almost world-wide celebrity. On one occasion the Censor of *St. Stephen's* rejected a youthful essay of his, partly because of its tendencies—but also on the ground that it was too flimsy for publication!

Although, as a record of College life, *Hermes* may be regarded as a sort of continuation of *St. Stephen's*, yet in passing from the earlier to the later paper one gets a sense of almost violent contrast. *Hermes* was not a long-lived publication; it lasted just a year, whereas its predecessor lasted for over five. From the literary and artistic point of view *Hermes* was more creditable to the College—it is really excellent in taste as in tone. As a piece of junior editing it would be hard, we believe, to beat it. All the same, as a College Journal it had not the mirthful, overflowing vivacity, the 'palpitating actuality,' shown by *St. Stephen's* when at its best.

It is telling no secret to assert that *Hermes*, on the literary side, was the work of one man. There was an editorial staff but that staff was inspired by the enthusiasm and organizing power of Tom Bodkin, who has recently been honoured by his University with its Degree of D.Litt. Maurice Healy undertook the business side, and with such success, owing to his alarming capacity in the matter of securing advertisements, that (wonderful to relate) quite a substantial profit was realized.<sup>10</sup> Bodkin used his pen in the threefold capacity of essayist, poet, and illustrator, and it all is good. His best contribution is a critique of G. B. Shaw, an article bold in conception—for it questions Shaw's originality—and penetrating without being caustic in the working out. There are also several descriptions of paintings, some of which are reproduced in full-page illustrations, well executed.

<sup>10</sup> *St. Stephen's*, alas! could have told a different tale. But perhaps this was due to 'too many Cooks spoiling the Broth'!

We wonder when he wrote on the "Pictures of the National Gallery of Ireland" did he guess that in a few short years he would be their Curator?

Many of the articles are anonymous, but there is one signed by Professor Semple, "The Credibility of History"; one by W. Keane on "Australian Poets"; one on "Baudelaire" by Aedan Cox; one on "Irish History" by Maurice Healy; all these writers (except the Professor) being members of the Editorial Staff. The thoughtful article on "Student Organization," signed "A Hurler on the Ditch," is almost certainly from the pen of the Editor-in-Chief.

What concerns our history most is the somewhat curtailed information entitled "College Notes." They give many important items, and are written pleasantly. They also serve to show that even in its last days, 1907-8, there was plenty of "go" among the students of the College, and the same inveterate passion for forming new associations for every possible and impossible object. There is not quite the same consciousness of achievement as we noticed in the earlier journal. A careful scrutiny has been able to detect only one passing allusion to the doings or interests of Women Students, though at this date they were in full force in the College.

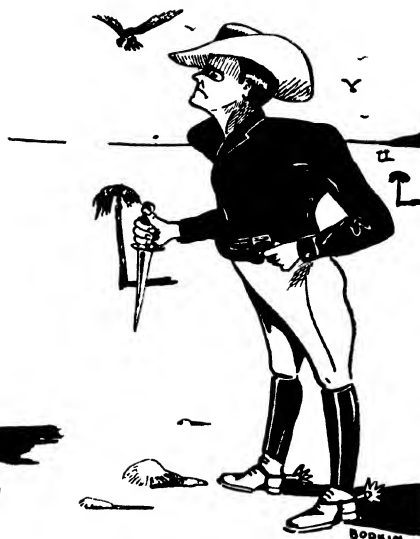
We conclude our notice of *Hermes* with the following transcript of a sonnet entitled "Silence":—

#### SILENCE

The dark blue shadows crept along the grass,  
The evening sky from purple swept to red,  
From red to orange, till all overhead  
The heavens flared, a canopy of brass.



CRUISE O'BRIEN



JOHN KENNEDY



JAMES ALFRED MEREDITH



EDOUARD CADIX



The angry sun dropt down behind the range  
Of rugged mountains; and upon the brake  
The wild rose hung, and seemed afraid to shake  
Her petals and disturb the silence strange.

And I lay there and held my breath while Fear  
Clutched at my heart, till on the dying gale  
A plaintive chorus floated up the vale  
In little starts—now indistinct, now clear,

And broke the awful silence that to me  
Seemed like a whisper from Eternity.

—CROM.

2.—*The "Lyceum" and "New Ireland Review."*

The first number of *The Lyceum*,<sup>11</sup> a monthly educational and literary magazine and review, as its title states, appeared in September 1887; the last, No. 77, appeared in February 1894. It was succeeded by the *New Ireland Review*, which lived from March 1894 to February 1911. While not official journals of the College, these two publications cover almost the whole of its lifetime; and their contents were rightly considered to reflect in a large measure the spirit, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the mind, of the choicest spirits of the old University College. The group that started the *Lyceum* were few, but uncommonly fit. Father Tom and Father Peter Finlay, Father O'Carroll and Mr. George O'Neill practically wrote between them the whole of the first number, and the matter that could have been initialled "T.A.F." was about fifty per cent. of the whole. In the second number Mrs. O'Gorman makes an entry, and in the

<sup>11</sup> We are deeply indebted to Professor John Howley, D.Ph., for the following notes on the *Lyceum*, and for the assistance given to him by Professor W. Magennis, M.A.

third W. P. Coyne, in the fourth Thomas Arnold, in the fifth William Magennis, in the sixth Robert Donovan, in the seventh Mr. Robert Curtis, in the eighth Father Denis Murphy. This was the eleven that Father Tom Finlay captained from September 1887 to October 1891 when William Magennis took over responsibility for the periodical. They were wonderful all-round players, that eleven of 1887. Even the student group, Donovan, Coyne, and Magennis, though raw, were confident and capable, giving fair promise that the future justified. Their elders seemed to renew the traditions of Pico de le Mirandola, for, thanks to the cover of anonymity, they were enabled to dispute *de omni re scibili*. Father O'Carroll opened with a couple of striking articles on the history of the Royal University.<sup>12</sup> Two on the "Propylæa of Irish History" followed, and he then passed on to a most remarkable series of articles on Russian literature, only terminated by his death in 1889. "The last Prince of the House of Ely," as we students used to call him, was a splendid example of the old Irish gentleman and scholar. He was a stout Conservative in his political views; but he much preferred the student to be a hot Nationalist, believing that conservatism in the young argued a lack of generosity. He was a wonderful linguist, knowing most European languages and many of their dialects, so no one could be found to replace him or continue his criticism of Gogol.

<sup>12</sup> It was intended to form a series, but this was discontinued after the second article, to avoid giving umbrage to the late Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. William Walsh, who did not relish the line of argument adopted by the *Lyceum* in this delicate matter.

Mrs. O'Gorman led off with a couple of articles on "Christian Beliefs before Christ," and followed them with three on "Christian Women as Social Reformers," with a further five articles on "Life and Work in a Mediaeval Monastery," all well documented and most readable. She continued to be a frequent contributor to the *Lyceum*, and her work shows a degree of scholarship rare among women at that time and even to-day. She was the mother of the well-known aviator, Col. Mervyn O'Gorman. In collaboration with Fr. Tom Finlay she wrote the book *Hopelessly Irish*, reviewed in October 1888 by W. Magennis. Thomas Arnold contributed two on "The Carte Papers," while Father Murphy's articles on "Our Martyrs" ran in a long series of papers up to 1890. George O'Neill, then only a scholastic, contributed to the first and third numbers reviews of Hugo and George Sand in certain school texts. The review of George Sand is distinctly interesting, perhaps a shade too tolerant. Another interesting review from his pen is that of Lord Beaconsfield's Letters in the February 1888 number, and a graceful one on "The Little Flowers of St. Francis" in March. An article on the "Conversion of Italy" reveals the young Jesuit as a vigorous polemist in the April number, and one on "The Norsemen of To-Day" and "Lectures on Music" proved his versatility in June.<sup>13</sup> Another Jesuit scholastic, Robert Curtis, contributed several scientific articles and reviews to the first volume, and a vigorous and amusing review of Mahaffy's "Principles of the

<sup>13</sup> One must not omit to mention that George O'Neill was a cultured musician, and did yeoman service for the cause of Music in the old College.



Art of Conversation" to the March number. He was at that time one of the most promising of the staff of the old College, but a terrible physical infirmity prevented the fruition of really great talents. He was one of the most popular of the dons, and his rapid stride when walking became proverbial as the fastest possible mode of velocity, "Curtisean walking!"

Of the students and tutors who contributed to the *Lyceum* in this first year's term, Robert Donovan was as yet the only graduate. He got his degree in 1885, and Coyne and Magennis did not graduate until 1888. Donovan's first contribution to the *Lyceum* seems to have been a review of Madame Wohl's *François Liszt—Recollections of a Compatriot*, under the title of "The Morality and Ritual of Art Fetichism" in the February number. Essays on Matthew Arnold in the May and June numbers, and a review of William Dillon's *Life of John Mitchel* in August, form his contributions to the first volume. They showed the already trained and competent journalist with a literary trend that promised the future professor and the chairman of the Committee on Evil Literature.

W. P. Coyne opens with a characteristic little review of Ruskin's *Hortus Inclusus* in the November number, and a characteristic slateing of Katharine Tynan's *Shamrock* followed in the next number. Studies of Cable as historian and novelist (March and April), of James Russell Lowell (May), and Francis Hodgson Burnett (July), complete his contribution to the first volume. In the second volume we find a paper of his, "Hamlet in German Dress" (September 1891), which he had read at the Literary and Historical Society, a

youthful but by no means uninteresting contribution to Shakespearian criticism. Through the later volumes we find here and there a graceful sonnet initialled "W. P. C." To his fellow-students he seemed to be somewhat a dilettante, a litterateur (odious word) and poet *in embryo*. We never dreamed that he would evolve into an economist and statistician—the idea would have made us laugh. Yet he made good as the first Director of Statistics in the Department of Agriculture, and his fame as an organiser of figures has eclipsed his purely literary and artistic activities. Only Celtic versatility could have so successfully adapted such a square peg to such a round hole!

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William Magennis's first contribution seems to have been a review in collaboration with Robert Donovan of *The City of Sarras*, by Una Ashworth Taylor. But his first real paper, very characteristic of the student as the writer of these lines remembers him at that time, was "The Art of Latter-Day Criticism," a very clever and very youthful skit on all the solemnities and pontifications of literary criticism (March 1888). Although Magennis received his academic *toga virilis* that year, he was still legally an infant, and his essay is that of the joyous schoolboy mocking grave professors and dons. It was a gay beginning to a tremendous mass of steady and most varied work for the *Lyceum*. A review of Saintsbury's *Elizabethan Literature* (April) seems to be his only other contribution to the first volume, but in subsequent volumes his articles and reviews form a

very large percentage of the total matter published. Many of the articles on education are from his pen. "A Century of Revolution" (May 1889), "Rome and Communism" (December 1889), "The Gospel of Wealth" (February 1890), three articles in May 1890. "Is Social Reform Possible Without Religion?", "A Scheme of Land Purchase," and "Spiritual Element in Irish Literature"; "The Regeneration of the Slums" (review of Booth's *Darkest England*), December 1890, and "The Economists and the Gospel" (March 1891), in whole or in part came from his pen. In the fifth volume he contributed several of the articles on the Tercentenary of Trinity College, the others coming, we believe, from the pen of Father Peter Finlay, in which the claims of that Elizabethan seat of learning to be Ireland's national university are soundly and trenchantly exposed. The review of Adderley's *Stephen Remarx* (December 1893) was from his pen in collaboration with Father Tom Finlay. These are but a few of his articles, given rather as samples than as a list. In October 1891, as stated above, William Magennis took over responsibility both financial and editorial, for the *Lyceum*, and it remained in his charge until it was discontinued in favour of the *New Ireland Review* in February 1894. For the work of the review during these two years and a half he was both responsible as editor and to a very large extent as contributor. Indeed if we were to subtract what he wrote during the lifetime of the *Lyceum*, and also took away the contribution of the two Father Finlays, we should have left hardly fifty per cent. of

the whole. The Finlays and Magennis were the *Lyceum* to all intents and purposes.

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We come now to the two brother Jesuits who founded the magazine, shaped and made it in the beginning, and—to the end in the eyes of the public, including their own Superiors—bore the responsibility for anything that anyone might carp at. It would be difficult to find in all Ireland two men with greater hatred of publicity. And yet the pair were sowers of ideas, makers and trainers of men, two most kind and gentle souls who could not bear fools gladly, who loved the neat phrase and well turned proof and loathed loose rhetoric. Is it a wonder that they seemed stormy petrels, signs to be contradicted?

The first number of the *Lyceum* opened with a prefatory editorial by Father Tom Finlay setting out, modestly but firmly, a programme for the periodical which was maintained to the end. One sentence sets the tone of the *Lyceum* from start to finish. “We shall examine principles, not champion men; we shall seek the solution of problems, practical or otherwise, not advocate party interests or strive for mere party ends.” Father Peter Finlay follows with “Mr. Mivart and Moses,” a very vigorous and critical castigation of the English biologist. In “Success after Trial” Father Tom Finlay takes occasion of the centenary of the Ursuline Convent at Thurles to expound the bearing of the penal laws on Catholic education in a neat compound of history and effective polemic, the *materia* and *forma* of so many future articles. This is followed by “The Science of Psychology,” the first

of a series of articles which runs through the volume, and seems intended to form a part of a manual of psychology. It is unfortunate that they were not completed, for what we have are models of exposition. An old student can almost hear Fr. Finlay lecture as he glances over these forty-year-old pages. Following this comes a long review from his pen of Stokes's *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, very characteristic in force and tone.

In the second number we have the first of Father Peter's two articles on "The Theology of Land Nationalization" which caused a ripple of excitement even on the Tiber. Even Henry George himself thought he had found an ally in the *Lyceum*, at least until the fourth number, when Father Tom gave the American economist a magistral correction. He was to learn, as many others, "Who touches my brother touches Tavannes." A powerful plea for the National Teachers from Father Tom's pen follows this theological article. An article on "The International" is the precursor of many essays on economics and economic history. We have further articles: "Mr. Mivart and His Patron" (November 1887); "Recent Developments of the Art of Teaching" (December 1887); "Unearned Increment as a Basis of Taxation" (January 1888); "The Successful Preacher" (February 1888); "The School Examiner" (March 1888); "Social Science in the Slums," "The Growth of an Empire [Russia]" (April 1888); "Burden of Pauperism" (May); "A Scheme of Denominational School Endowment" (June); "The Law of Demand and Supply in Danger" (in collaboration with William Magennis), and the first

of a series "The Witch before the Law" (July) and "The Depopulation of Ireland" (August), show the immense variety of his interests and his strong trend towards economics. Father Peter's review of Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* in the January 1888 number is also very characteristic of that hard-hitting but polite controversialist. Later on we get a splendid sample of his work in the articles mentioned above on the occasion of the Tercentenary of Trinity College (April 1892 *et seq.*). The series of articles "Our Brothers the Masons" (June 1852 *et seq.*) was from the pen of Father Tom. Father Peter wrote a bright dialogue on "The Trinity Festivities" (June 1892). There is an article on "The Anti-Clerical Cry" in September 1892 number; we do not know from which pen it comes, but it is a model of calm exposition of principles bearing on the Bishops' attitude on the Parnell question. Probably the author was Father Peter, for he wrote the article on "The Bishops and Political Morality" in the November number and the review of "The South Meath Judgment" in January 1893. These were in a sense strongly political articles, but the Parnell controversy brought politics into the sanctuary itself to religion's very great detriment. In another vein his articles on "Women's Higher Education in Ireland" (April 1893) and "Our Convent Schools and University Education" (August 1893) are of much interest to those in charge of our co-eds to-day. Three articles on "The Jew in Ireland" (July 1893 *et seq.*), which were vigorously attacked by Michael Davitt, and an examination of Proportional Represen-

tation (November 1892) by Father Tom, are also interesting in view of subsequent developments.

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We have been only able to glance at the manifold literary activities of these two remarkable Irishmen who, along with William Magennis, made the *Lyceum* what it was. They were pioneers, and all pioneers have their limitations. Much smaller men have climbed on their shoulders to greater eminence.

Nokes outdares Stokes in azure feats,  
Both gorge. Who fished the murex up?  
What porridge had John Keats?

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Among lesser contributors to the *Lyceum* we may note Fathers Henry Browne and Joseph Darlington, John Ebrill, W. Geoffrey White, W. F. Butler, Father Lockart (one of the rare signed articles, in defence of Rosmini) and some articles on Theosophy by W. F. Brown. But only a very few of their articles or indeed of any others can be identified after this lapse of time. Such is the penalty of anonymous journalism.

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As an organ of opinion the *Lyceum* during its lifetime encountered much opposition and criticism from the more conservative type of Irishmen; it was too progressive for their taste—some people would have said, too full of ideas. The adult has as little love for an educator as the schoolboy. The *Lyceum* was endeavouring to pull the Irish Catholic out of his political rut, to give him a Catholic consciousness which would inform his life in other directions beyond

the mere interests of party politics. Stead, with his flair for new movements, seems to have seen the *Lyceum* in a clearer light than its Irish readers, for again and again he noticed it in his *Review of Reviews*. It was this touch of novelty which attracted him and disturbed among others all conventionalists and heresy-hunters. We were all very timid in the last century and dreaded unconventional views. Even the anonymity of the *Lyceum* articles threw an exaggerated responsibility on those who were credited with the control of the paper, the organ was blamed, and the contributor got hardly any credit. It began to be understood all round that some changes were desirable; articles should be signed and the format of the serial be altered. The old quarto double column was excellent for a weekly paper, but it was felt that a magazine shape and better paper would make a greater impression on the reading public. And so for many reasons the *Lyceum* was transformed into a completely new serial, entitled *The New Ireland Review*. But—*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

In the *Freeman's Journal* for March 1, 1894, the following notice appeared as a leading article:—

"The first number of the *New Ireland Review* has made its appearance and deserves a hearty welcome. The number is altogether the work of Irish, and on this occasion, Catholic writers, and is an encouraging revelation of the literary talent that the description denotes. The Editors propose to cater for 'the new Ireland' that is growing up around us. Political and social changes, educational developments, the stirring



of new ideas, and the growth of new wants have made the Ireland of to-day a very different Ireland from that of twenty years ago. Moreover, we stand upon the threshold of days that may even quicken the pace of this social evolution. 'It is important,' say the Editors, 'that outward expression should be given to the notions that are abroad, and temperate discussion be bestowed upon the questions with which the public will occupy itself...' Such healthy discussion it is the ambition of the Editors to promote 'within the limits which rigorous respect for the religious faith of our countrymen imposes...' But the present number shows that the *Review* will do more than fulfil the function above described; there is matter in it of a worth beyond that of fugitive topics, however important."

The notice then proceeds to mention with praise an article of Dr. George Sigerson on "Genesis and Evolution," as an excellent specimen of the Catholic scientists' controversy; and Dr. William Barry's story—"The Food of the Dead"—as a charming Irish folk-tale; and again Father Finlay's article "In Memory of Neal Long," a simple account of the life, trials, and death of a Mayo peasant: "Besides beauty this tale has a social significance which it would take many blue-books to express." Then reference is made to a brilliant dialogue by Professor Magennis on "The Limitations of Irish Poetry," to an article by Sir Rowland Blennerhassett on "The Failure of Constitutional Monarchy in France"—"a writer who always shows that appreciation of modern history which belongs to a man who has had an inside view of

affairs"; and lastly to an article by Mr. Timothy Healy, M.P., on "Procedure in Parliament." "This article establishes contact of the *Review* with political discussion, and thus completes the circle of its interests... There are seeds and signs of a healthy vitality in the new publication which is certainly a big sixpence-worth, and is well printed."

The standard of excellence suggested in the above notice was evidently high, so high that—for a monthly publication—it may well have raised a doubt as to possibility of the new *Review* permanently living up to its promise. Without attempting the paradoxical, it will be enough for us to maintain, and, as we hope, to prove that the new paper exercised a strong influence upon thoughtful men and women, that it was wholly worthy of its object, of its origin, and of the College which it was generally supposed to represent—of course, as we have already stated, unofficially.

The publication lasted for the space of seventeen years, namely, from March 1894 till February 1911; therefore it extended for nearly two years beyond the period of the old College. During those two years, however, it showed signs of weakening vigour; and in any case the publication was mainly connected with our story and we shall treat of it as a whole.

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We shall commence by describing two series of articles which, published later in book form, are both recognised as contributions of some moment to Irish history and letters.

First among these was Douglas Hyde's *Religious Songs of Connacht*, reprinted in two volumes in 1906. The book consists of seven chapters, but the articles must be more like a hundred, as they appeared almost uninterruptedly for a space of about ten years, that is, from June 1895 down to June 1905. All were printed first in Irish and then in the English translation. There was an Introduction running into two numbers, followed by the Songs themselves, with an account of their origin so far as it could be traced. They are described as 'Songs,' 'Stories,' 'Prayers,' 'Ranns,' and 'Charms,' collected (often direct from the peasant reciters) as well as edited and translated by the author of the work.

It has been said of this work:<sup>14</sup>

Of all Hyde's work, that which is at once most attractive and most interesting is his publication of two collections of poetry, the first, *Love Songs of Connacht*, and the second, *Religious Songs of Connacht*. Both consist of poems with critical notes in Irish, and on the opposite page an English Metrical translation. They contain much that is beautiful, and it is impossible to read them without seeing that they were both written and translated by poets.

This work of Professor Hyde is so well known that it is unnecessary to add any remarks of our own. It goes without saying that in a large collection of what may be called folk-lore, the material will be of varying value, if viewed merely as poetry; but such a work will have other values in their way quite as important.

The second publication was the series of lectures on Early Irish History by Eoin MacNeill, delivered in the

<sup>14</sup> *Irishmen of To-Day*. No. 6, by D. Coffey. 1917. P. 115.

College in the summer of 1904, and published in the *New Ireland Review* in the same year.<sup>15</sup>

The series marks the beginning of an epoch in the understanding of early Irish history. For the first time since historical study became a science, the native records dealing with pagan Ireland were thoroughly investigated. These records, it may be said, were abundant, and they professed to give an account of the monarchs of Ireland back to the origin of the Gaelic or Milesian state somewhere about 1600 B.C. In the most valuable portion of his lectures Mr. MacNeill offered startling proof that the whole of this story was a mediaeval invention. Chroniclers and genealogists were its authors. Their motive was sufficiently obvious—the desire to provide their own country with an antiquity as venerable as that of Rome, Greece, Israel, and the Orient. Interesting illustrations were given of the method by which the fiction was elaborated, and of the successful propaganda made for it until at last it was accepted with enthusiasm as a sacred tradition of the nation.

Having cleared away the debris of barren legend and shown what the history of pagan Ireland certainly was not, Mr. MacNeill applied himself to the task of reconstruction. As Gaelic Ireland was a Celtic country it was obvious that the foundation of the Gaelic State would be connected closely with the general development of the Celtic peoples, so the works of D'Arbois de Jubainville and Rhys on this subject were carefully studied. Mr. MacNeill's conclusion pointed to an invasion of Celts from Britain about the end of the first Christian century, resulting in the establishment of a new kingdom at Tara and of later kingdoms at Ailenn and Cashel. So overwhelming was the superiority of the Celts over the older inhabitants in statesmanship and military art that they gradually subdued the greater part of the island. Where petty kingdoms were not ruled by scions of Celtic dynasties

<sup>15</sup> The lectures have been already referred to in other contexts. See Chapter VII., pp. 185 and 192. We are indebted to the scholarly pen of Father John Ryan, M.A., for the critique here given.

but left under their own pre-Celtic kings they had to pay tribute to the new-comers. Finally this invasion was taught to be identical with the "Milesian" story of the chroniclers and poets.

Other lectures of the course dealt with the "Book of Rights," "Ireland according to Ptolemy," "The Revolt of the Vassals," and "The Relation of the Ulster Epic to History." All these studies have retained their value. In tales of the Ulster Epic, too, Mr. MacNeill's penetrating genius discovered a genuine tradition—as distinct from a tradition fabricated by the poets—of political conditions in early Celtic Ireland. This and a fuller knowledge of the time and manner in which the Celtic peoples migrated led him to date the Celtic colonisation of Ireland much earlier than he was inclined to do in 1904; whilst later study convinced him that the whole Milesian theory as a clumsy fiction had better be cast overboard in its entirety. The lectures have otherwise stood excellently the searching test of time, and much from them has either been incorporated into *Phases of Irish History* or republished with slight modifications in *Celtic Ireland*. These lectures deserve, in fact, to rank beside the brilliant work which Professor MacNeill has placed before the public in recent years, and that, to anyone who knows his unique standing as a master of Irish history, is the highest praise that can be bestowed upon them.

We may add here that Professor MacNeill had occasionally written other articles, e.g., on "Some Notes of Our National Literature."<sup>16</sup>

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We must here give some account of Professor T. A. Finlay's sphere in the carrying on of the *Review*. His signed articles are very numerous; but before specifying them we may be allowed to premise that they do not exhaust his work or the influence which he exerted upon the newer undertaking. Quite a number of the younger but most interesting contributors and joint-

<sup>16</sup> In May, 1894.

editors had been students either actually taught by him or, in varying degrees of intimacy, owing their mental growth to his inspiration and care. Among them we shall name, besides W. P. Coyne and William Magennis, Tom Kettle, P. J. Hogan, James Meredith, Vasey Hague, A. Clery, and very specially Frank Little. And among the older writers not a few were more or less in constant contact with Father Finlay, and to some extent reflected his views on economics, national politics, and education. But we must not give the idea that the *New Ireland Review* represented a clique. Its pages were open to all who had anything to say and knew how to say it. Many schools of thought and of politics are found among the contributors to the *Review*, as our more detailed analysis will prove.

To turn now to Father Finlay's own articles, we take first those more specially relating to his academical position in the College. His pen dwells upon the actual industries of the country, especially those connected with agriculture or with co-operation; and also with abstract questions of Political Economy, but chiefly as affecting the well-being of Ireland. To describe Father Finlay's views as expressed in the *Review* upon these, and indeed upon many other subjects, would require a volume to itself. We shall merely allude to a few of his more important articles. A series of five on the "Art of Rent Fixing"<sup>17</sup> discussed what was then a thorny topic, namely, the question of Fair Rents as fixed compulsorily by the Land Commission then sitting, and, in cases where their judgments were revised, by the Court of Appeal. In the articles

<sup>17</sup> From March to November, 1901.

he quotes certain of these judgments, and dwells upon the principles which had been invoked in giving them. It appears to be one object of the articles to examine and define further the principles adopted by the lawyers in the light of his own science. It is his contention that between a Fair Rent as understood in the Land Courts and the so-called Economic Rent of the books there should be no discrepancy. We do not, however, gather that the Professor, while approving of the principles, committed himself necessarily to an approval (or disapproval) of the concrete judgments in which the principles in question are applied by the courts. His treatment is wholly academic, and the tone of the articles does not suggest any political bias; but it was certainly a timely contribution upon a burning question.

A later series upon "Ireland and Free Trade," in three consecutive numbers,<sup>23</sup> dealt with an equally difficult subject, at a time when the minds of statesmen in Great Britain and Ireland were turned in its direction. The articles are mainly historical, but they contained a strong contention to the effect that, so far as Ireland was concerned, the proposals put forward by British conservative politicians could not be of any advantage. "Were the proposed modifications to be carried into effect, they would secure our markets for British manufacturers; they would not help us to create manufactures of our own."

Father Finlay wrote not merely upon economic subjects, but upon Education in all its aspects from the primary school to the University. We should also like

<sup>23</sup> February, March, April, 1904

to refer to his Articles entitled "Mr. Balfour and His Critics,"<sup>19</sup> dealing with and in some sense approving of his work entitled *Philosophic Doubt*, which he contrasted with Newman's *Grammar of Assent*; and also the *Conversion of George Romanes*<sup>20</sup> [to Christianity], an event which had occasioned much comment and even controversy. Fr. Finlay thinks that the significance attached to this conversion had been overrated by those of both parties in the dispute. His view is that the reasonings of Romanes will only appeal to those who have his own metaphysical insight, "and they are few among those to whom Mill and Spencer are still philosophers."

Many other writers contributed papers on Irish economic problems, among whom Mr. William Field, M.P. for North Dublin, deserves a special mention. As a business man connected with the meat trade he might be an expert on cattle-grazing, but not an economist in the academical sense. Yet he stood high in popular esteem as a practical man with long parliamentary experience, and the papers which he sent to the *Review* were characterized by moderation, good sense, and lucidity. His first communication "Proposed Legislation for the West of Ireland," appeared in the year 1898, and he was a regular contributor down to the year 1903. He was much interested in questions concerning Taxation, and wrote on the evils of excessive centralization in politics.

Very early in the course of the *Review*<sup>21</sup> an agrarian article, "The Nemesis of Irish Toryism," appeared

<sup>19</sup> July and August, 1895

<sup>20</sup> In June, 1896.

<sup>21</sup> April, 1894.



from the pen of Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde. This brought a rejoinder in the following number from Lord Monteagle, who was known to be an advocate of agrarian reform, but otherwise a strong Conservative. He wrote in a tone of conciliation, "wishing to bridge the gulf which separated different classes of Irish Society," and advocated Land Reform as a better expedient than Home Rule. This brought in its turn a reply in which Sir Thomas asks: "If we are competent to settle our land question, the most thorny of all our social troubles, what in the whole range of our local public life are we not competent to deal with?" He proceeds: "If Lord Monteagle will thus far [that is, the settlement of the land question without guidance or dictation from English statesmen] act out his own principles, he will find himself as good a Home Ruler as any of us." A nice little dilemma!

Among writers on agricultural and industrial development we may mention the Rt. Hon. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Horace Plunkett,<sup>22</sup> who wrote on "The Report of the Recess Committee" (of which he was Chairman), and in criticism of "The Apologia of the Royal Dublin Society."<sup>23</sup> Economic articles were also communicated by Mr. W. P. Coyne, especially some entitled "The Future of Industry."<sup>24</sup> Other writers were Sir Henry Grattan Bellew, Mrs. Marion Mulhall (on Workhouse Reform), Mr. Charles Stannuell (on the Railway System); and, in the later period, Michael

<sup>22</sup> In August, 1866

<sup>23</sup> In February, 1867 This was in answer to a pamphlet criticising the Recess Committee's Report.

<sup>24</sup> In the year 1869

J. Hogan, George D. Clancy, Dr. W. R. MacDermott, and several other important contributors.

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The articles on Educational topics were a distinct feature of the magazine. Those most germane to this volume deal with the University problem, and as this question is necessarily treated fully elsewhere we forbear to go into the close details that would be otherwise desirable. We may, however, make a special allusion to the articles of Father Finlay and of Professor Magennis on University topics. Also there was an interesting controversy carried on<sup>25</sup> by Dr. (afterwards Monsignor) O'Reardon and Mr. N. J. Synnott on the proposal to admit Catholic Students to the University of Dublin. A paper on "Women and the University Question," by Miss Lilian Daly, appeared in the number of April 1902, which was answered in the following number by Miss Hannah Sheehy, B.A.

We may now touch upon certain contributions relating to Philosophy. Here again we find Mr. Coyne well represented; also Mr. Magennis, though the latter perhaps wrote more often upon literary than philosophical topics. Among his pupils, Vesey Hague and James Meredith both gave a series of articles which deserve mention. The former wrote on "Wanted: A Philosophy of Duty";<sup>26</sup> also a really good defence of Aristotle against modern idealism; and other articles. Mr. Meredith contributed an elaborate examination of Haeckel's presentation of Materialism in a series of

<sup>25</sup> In the years 1896—7.

<sup>26</sup> In 1902—3.

eleven articles with various titles.<sup>27</sup> Father P. A. Sheehan of Doneraile also contributed an article entitled "Non-Dogmatic Religion,"<sup>28</sup> in which he argued that it is an impossibility, and that *de facto* the popular error is admitted to be unreasonable by the leading thinkers among unbelievers.

We shall now turn to articles dealing more directly with politics or at least with topics relating to the "Irish Ireland" movement. In the early years of the twentieth century there was a very live wire among Irish journalists, namely, D. P. Moran, who had trained himself during some years for a new sort of campaign by a course of writing for the Press in London. The articles in his curious, almost astounding, weekly paper, the *Leader*, were necessarily of an ephemeral nature; but he occasionally contributed articles to the *New Ireland Review* of a more lengthy and solid character, but still in his usual racy vein of wit. Perhaps the most notable of them was one entitled "The Battle of Two Civilizations."<sup>29</sup> It consisted of a scathing and very telling attack upon the Anglo-Celtic School of writers in general, and their main representative, W. B. Yeats, and incidentally upon Matthew Arnold and Mr. George Moore. He maintained that Irishmen were dropping the practice of reading because they could not find anything that really interested them. He proceeds: "Practically no one in Ireland understands Mr. Yeats and his school; and one could not, I suggest, say anything harder of literary

<sup>27</sup> Beginning July, 1904, and ending February, 1906.

<sup>28</sup> In August, 1905

<sup>29</sup> In March, 1900.

men. For if a literary man is not appreciated and cannot be understood, of what use is he? He has not served his purpose. The Irish mind, however, was wound down to such a low state that it was fit to be humbugged by such a school." He then maintains that the so-called Irish literature of Goldsmith, Sheridan, etc., is really first class literary work merely executed by English-speaking men born in Ireland. "But it was death to the man who called our writings by their proper name. Another make-believe had to be manufactured. We put in 'troths' and 'begors' and 'alannas' and 'asthores' by way of Irish seasoning . . . We were on the look-out for someone to think for us, for we had given up that habit with our language. Mr. Arnold came along in the nick of time and suggested that one of the characters of Celtic poetry was 'natural magic' . . . The people asked what these gentlemen are driving at? 'Hats off, gentlemen, these are mystics'! Never was a truer sentence uttered. Mystics they were and are, for a mystic is assuredly a man who deals in mysteries, and mysteries are things which the limited human mind cannot understand. The whole situation was really charged with the comic element. A muddled land which mistook politics for nationality . . . was offered the services of a few mystics. But what Ireland wants is not men to muddle her with more mysteries, but men who can solve some of the too many already in stock."

Mr. Moran also wrote articles: "Is the Irish Nation Dying";<sup>30</sup> "The Future of the Irish Nation";<sup>31</sup> "The

<sup>30</sup> In December, 1898

<sup>31</sup> February, 1899.

Pale and the Gael";<sup>32</sup> "Politics, Nationality, and Snobs."<sup>33</sup> In this he wrote: "The vast majority of the people of every country and certainly of Ireland, is made up of snobs. They have their uses in the economy of nations...one might as well try to make bricks without clay as to construct a nation without properly manipulating its snobs...the national leaders stand condemned who cannot handle them properly, and those who ignore their existence have no right to be termed leaders at all." Such sentiments are no doubt unusual, but perhaps they help one to think.

Among the friends—shall we say disciples?—of D. P. Moran was Arthur Clery<sup>34</sup> who, over his own name, and sometimes with the sobriquet "Arthur Synan," was a constant, almost prolific, contributor to the *Review* from the year 1903 to the end in 1911. In more than one number he contributed two articles. Some of these contributions have been republished in his *Dublin Essays*. Subsequently he wrote with marked originality and incisiveness upon University topics and on various other subjects connected with national revival. The first of this latter series was entitled "Non-denominationalism and Bogosity," and the writer maintained that Catholics demand an equality in equipment, in endowment, and *dissimulation* with that enjoyed by Trinity College and Belfast. In the latter "the great parliamentary principle of

<sup>32</sup> June, 1899

<sup>33</sup> November, 1899

<sup>34</sup> His father, also Arthur Clery, contributed from October, 1901, to March, 1906, some twenty six articles on "Early Irish History." By a coincidence the same number that concluded this series commenced the lectures on "Early Irish History," by Loin MacNeill described in the preceding pages

undenominationalism was combined in the highest degree with *the great practical principle of bogosity* . . . and the highly efficient University institution was the result.”

In the year 1901<sup>35</sup> a series of six articles which appeared with the title “Letters from Ireland,” caused some interest—and not a little speculation as to their authorship—for contrary to the general rule they were anonymous, with merely the signature H— B—. They purported to be by an Irishman who had lived for years in America, and related his impressions gained on returning to Ireland along with his wife, “a tidy Massachusetts woman.” The Letters were written in a chatty style full of homely common sense, but were anything but flattering in their comments upon the habits of the people. In fact the picture drawn of the Irish peasants, and the comparison between their standard of life and that of America is at times almost painful reading. But the articles were undoubtedly cleverly written and quite sincere in tone. In many points they struck home, and may have effected some of the good which they were intended to produce. Mr. Robert (now Professor) O’Dwyer contributed a few interesting articles mostly about Irish music. Also Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Grattan Flood wrote a good deal in his usual form, giving the results of his research in Irish History and Hagiography.

We must also refer here to Mr. Laurence Ginnell’s rather long discussion about the alleged Bulls of Pope Adrian to Henry II regarding his invasion of Ireland.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Commencing in July and ending in December.

<sup>36</sup> During the year 1897

The articles (six in number) are entitled "Bullae Pontificiae an non?", and comprise an impassioned denial of the authenticity of the Bulls. They brought a rejoinder<sup>37</sup> from the Rev. Sylvester Malone, D.D., who "as the only living writer referred to by name by Mr. Ginnell, felt called upon to make some remarks on the subject." Dr. Malone declared that Cardinal Moran was the first Irishman to throw doubt on the genuineness of the 'Privilege,' and then gave a summary of the evidence on the affirmative side. He maintains that the authenticity of the impugned documents is vouched for by English, Irish, and Roman documents. He also added: "In fact there are no grounds for discussion. Half of the facts of history are admitted on not a tenth of the evidence adduced for the Privilege and there does not appear *in the whole domain of history* a better authenticated fact."

In his criticism of Mr. Ginnell he says that his six articles "bring scarcely a single pertinent fact or original idea to the discussion... They are mainly made up of objections already urged and answered, of special pleading of a marked kind, of literary criticism, and of remarks not pertinent to the question."

In the following March Mr. Ginnell replied and used language at least equally spirited with that of his opponent; in fact he found himself "seriously amused" rather than "humorously instructed" by the castigation his articles had received. It is hardly our place to offer to our readers any decision about such a Homeric conflict—but we may express a doubt as to whether Mr. Ginnell was not more to be praised for his loyalty

<sup>37</sup> In January, 1898.

and patriotism than for his success in defending King, Pope, and country. The controversy naturally awakened much interest among the readers of the *New Ireland Review*.

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At last we come to the more strictly literary portion of the writings. If they do not constitute the most important section of the *Review*, at least we hope to show that they have plenty of merit and plenty of interest—as is indeed guaranteed even by the names of many of the contributors. We approach this side of our undertaking with some misgiving, because it involves so many questions of taste rather than of objective fact. Not that we need strictly criticise all the articles we shall mention, but even to make a selection from such a large mass of material is rather a delicate task. We have no idea of being exhaustive in our choice, our object is merely to give our readers some idea of the literary quality of this publication.

During the first dozen years of the *Review*'s course we find frequent articles from the pen of a writer signing as George Newcomen. They are varied in subject and display qualities of knowledge, judgment, and taste in a rare degree. The earliest of these, entitled “In Praise of Adversity,”<sup>38</sup> is short but very thoughtful, and seems to suggest that the writer was well advanced in years. “The old man has found the limits of his capabilities. There has come a pause in the turmoil of life—a period of rest.” Let us now quote the following fine passage: “What would be the life of man in a world where there was no pain? The

<sup>38</sup> In June, 1894.



thought is of such a kind as the human mind can compass but feebly. We should have no more courage, no more patience...no more loyalty...no more hope." Again, "the noblest of all our pleasures are those arising from the exercise of sympathy and love, and these are part of the eternal mystery of pain." The writer complains of the pessimism of his contemporaries. "The neurotic bore, the problematic and sphynx-like woman, and the suicide have been written about, sung about, and played, until they have become a weariness to the flesh...The dark side of the Evolution theory is alone examined, while it is forgotten that though every one born of woman is the inheritor of a thousand failings he is also the heir of a thousand splendid capabilities." The same writer gave a well thought-out essay upon Malone's treatment of the "Lovers of Launcelot";<sup>39</sup> a mediaeval tale on the "Judgment of Medieus";<sup>40</sup> a Parody on Swift describing certain modern Yahoos;<sup>41</sup> a description of O'Connell's Duel<sup>42</sup> and other Irish Sketches; some articles upon Shakespeare; one (very thoughtful) upon "Fashion in Words." These titles will give an idea of the wide scope of this writer; and our space only permits us to add that we find nothing from his pen which appears to be futile.

Professor Darlington's studies on *Hamlet* and other plays of Shakespeare form an interesting set of articles, displaying a strong and original grasp of many difficult

<sup>39</sup> In March, 1899.

<sup>40</sup> In September, 1899.

<sup>41</sup> In June, 1898

<sup>42</sup> In June, 1899.

problems. It has been thought that they deserve a full re-publication.

Next among the regular contributors may come once more Professor George O'Neill. He, again, wrote on many subjects, but his chief essays (especially at his first introduction among the writers) relate to French literature. In the year 1896 he wrote three articles upon Gresset, the author of *Ver-vert*; and in 1898 two upon "Recent Developments in French Literature"; and again two others upon the "Dramatic Work of the Younger Dumas and His Contemporaries," this being an exhaustive and penetrating study of the aims and ethical tone of these writers. His criticism on Blaise Pascal (which was delivered as an Afternoon Lecture in the College) is well worth reading, and well documented. These articles on French authors belong to the earlier period, about the end of the nineteenth century; later Fr. O'Neill's interest is more concentrated on subjects connected with his own country: for instance in May 1900 he wrote on Scotus, claiming him as an Irish philosopher. He wrote enthusiastically on the poetry of Aubrey de Vere (believing that he was underrated because of his predilection for Catholic subjects). Again he wrote on "The Irish Harp"; on "Recent Irish Drama";<sup>43</sup> on "An Irish Tragedy";<sup>44</sup> and his last article (in the penultimate number of the *Review*) is upon "Goldsmith—His Birthplace and Last Scenes." He also essayed verse translations from the German poetess Annette von Droste-Hulshoff; published some original pieces of his own; and reviewed a

<sup>43</sup> In March, 1906

<sup>44</sup> In March, 1910 The criticism is on *The Cross Roads*, by S. L. Robinson.

large number of books chiefly dealing with literary subjects.

In contrast to this prolific as well as really gifted writer we may here mention some names of merely occasional contributors of note. George Moore wrote a few stories to which Irish translations by Mr. Tadhg O'Donoghue were appended; Thomas Arnold,<sup>45</sup> Dr. William Barry,<sup>46</sup> and John Millington Synge also wrote. We must mention two articles on "Old Times and the Barony," by Father John Connec,<sup>47</sup> giving a most interesting picture of western peasant life. We have already referred to constant work done for the *Review* by W. P. Coyne, W. Magennis, and to a less extent by Kettle, many of whose contributions, though not all, were upon literary subjects.

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We now come to a more difficult topic- the articles of Father William Sutton, S.J., advocating the Baconian Theory of Shakespeare. The essays appeared in the last year of the old and the first five years of the twentieth century; and were, as we believe, hardly appreciated at their true worth. The ordinary reader could not be expected to grasp them as a whole; and even if he were disposed to regard the subject seriously, a somewhat desultory manner of handling the theory would be far from satisfying. Probably the impression

<sup>45</sup> In December, 1894, a very interesting and thoughtful treatment of the question raised by W. A. Stead "Is the World to be Anglicised?" Arnold argues not

<sup>46</sup> In February, 1898, on "The Genius of Edmund Burke," and in August, 1902, on "The Gael and the Greek"

<sup>47</sup> In January and July, 1895. The articles are signed "Max Wood," but were republished under the author's own name in several editions, by the C.T.S. of Ireland.

gained was that the writer was carried away by his enthusiasm for Bacon; and in a sense this was true. But no one who has given attention to the articles could doubt that Fr. Sutton's enthusiasm was based upon a profound and almost unique knowledge not merely of the plays but of the acknowledged Baconian writings. From an early date, and long before any inkling of the identity of these two great Elizabethans had dawned upon his mind, Fr. Sutton devoted his spare hours to mastering them both. When he did rather suddenly and very reluctantly succumb, he was surprised to find how his fellow Baconians had discovered various avenues of thought leading, as they maintained to a definite conclusion as to the origin of the Poems and Plays. In his articles Fr. Sutton followed now one and now another of the paths that were opening up before his mind. The articles, twenty-five<sup>48</sup> in number, do not therefore follow out any strict and compact line of reasoning; and when they came to be reprinted in book form, it became more than ever evident that in spite of his learning and persistency the writer did not possess the art of putting his case convincingly.<sup>49</sup> We shall subjoin a list of only a few of the titles of the articles: "A Shakespearian Curiosity"; "The Prophetic Soul of the Wide World (an expression in Sonnet cvii)"; "Jonson, Chettle, Shakespeare"; "Bacon's Farewell to Fortune"; "Shakespeare's Plays and Bacon's Philosophy"; "Bacon's

<sup>48</sup> It may be added that at least three or four additional articles, by other writers, were due to Fr. Sutton's initiation.

<sup>49</sup> The book was not attractively brought out, nor well advertised; and we believe it got less recognition from the public than it deserved.

Theory of Poetry"; "Bacon's 'Alter Ego' (Tobie Matthew)"; "The Enigma of Shakespeare's Ethics"; "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light"; "Bacon's 'Great Secret'"; "The Fourth Part of the 'Instauratio Magna' (Equated with the Comedies)"; "The Fifth Part of the 'Instauratio Magna'" (Equated with the Historical Plays)."

We have transcribed sufficient of these titles to illustrate our view that Fr. Sutton's method was too random to be of much use except for the 'converted.' It may, however, be noted that at the date when the articles appeared there was a strong and growing body of opinion in Ireland as on the Continent in favour of Fr. Sutton's views. Upon University College staff there was quite a phalanx of Baconians, and the Professor of English in Trinity College was said to be inclined that way. Many lawyers, including the Lord Chief Baron and other members of the Bench, were convinced Baconians; Sir Francis Cruise, no mean literary critic, held the same view. Fr. Sutton himself had small belief that in his generation the evidence for Bacon could be brought home to the "man in the street."

We must not conclude these notes without some reference to the poems of Frank Little, who was mentioned among the protégés of Father Finlay. Those who have read Professor George O'Neill's article<sup>50</sup> on the subject, are aware that at least since his

<sup>50</sup> *Studies*, of March, 1927 ("Philip Francis Little The Man and the Poet.") This very successful quarterly may be considered in some sense as a continuation of *The New Ireland Review*; though its connection with the new University College is not so close as was that of its fore-runner with the old.

death the poetical merits of Frank have been accorded recognition. Father O'Neill does not cloak the oddness verging on aberration which characterised this weird but lovable personality—nor does he deny that a large proportion of Little's writing was unimportant. Yet he declares that by “repeated study of the whole spread over many years” his estimate of the “poetic treasures” in the published volume of the poems has been confirmed and increased, and he quotes in his favour the review in the *Times* (Literary Supplement). He therefore speaks of a cruel neglect and under-estimation by the public mind of Little's merits. Now, his shorter lyrics had been constantly appearing in the *New Ireland Review*, to the pages of which he was admitted almost from its start, many years prior to his attempting the longer and more ambitious poems which Father O'Neill quotes and on which he relies for his favourable judgment. This action on the part of a youthful periodical seems to show both discernment and courage; and there can be little doubt that it encouraged the budding versifier to proceed with his efforts till they reached maturity. We cannot give quotations; but should like to name the following as among his best pieces:—

For simplicity, “Kilbride” (thoughts on a cemetery);

For pathos, “A Black Christmas” (describing the loss of the Kingstown Lifeboat);

For imagination, “The Three Poplars” (“I shall have three grey poplars above me when I sleep”);

For metrical excellence, “Sunt a Lacrymae Rerum.”

Among the more ambitious pieces on classical

subjects, the "Apostrophe to Epaminondas" (in blank verse) deserves notice.

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In the final issue an Editor's note appeared taking leave of the readers and making his acknowledgments to the contributors to the *New Ireland Review*. In it he speaks thus: "We invited the support of our countrymen for a periodical in which the enlightened thought of our country might find expression. The support accorded to us has enabled us to maintain—on a modest scale indeed—a type of literature which we could not afford to leave unrepresented amongst us." We hope that our own modest attempt to describe this journal will have caused some feeling of satisfaction that the type was not "left unrepresented."

## CHAPTER IX.

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### SOCIAL SIDE OF STUDENT LIFE.

1. **Introductory.**
2. **General Organizations.**
3. **The "Literary and Historical" Society.**
4. **Other College Societies**
5. **The Choral Union.**  
**J. Vincent Clarke.**  
**Contribution by Prof. George O'Neill, M.A.**
6. **Impressions of "Chanel."**





## SOCIAL SIDE OF STUDENT LIFE.

### 1.—*Introductory.*

By the Social side of University life we mean all the training that the University can give outside and beyond the classroom. To speak of a "teaching" as contrasted with an "examining" institution expresses a half-truth. It is true, as far as it goes, to say that the work of the University lecturer and even of the coach is important. For to learn properly without a teacher, to learn from books alone, is, comparatively speaking, an impossibility. Of course lecturers may be futile, and lectures practically waste of time, but the fact remains that students cannot get on without them. Call them necessary evils if you like, but let us hope that they are not all equally bad. But a University is more than a group of lecture rooms filled with half-attentive students. It is rather a world of experience of life in miniature, a world where each individual is either spurred to excel his fellows, or at least learns a something about his own sad level. If in this history we do not succeed in convincing our readers that University College was not a mere grinding machine, in other words that it had what we have to call a Social side, it will have been written in vain. But undoubtedly the College had a social side, not indeed on a vast scale like some of the great time-honoured

seats of learning and of character formation—yet it gradually came into its own, or at least it paved the way for something more satisfying yet to come.

It was perhaps Fr. Delany's greatest merit as a real pioneer of educational reform that he had large views as to the function of a University. No one understood better than he did that it is not merely a matter of book learning. In his own youth he had not, it is true, experienced the benefits of a University training; but he had travelled on two continents, and particularly he had resided in Rome, which for the Jesuit Scholastic has some character of a cosmopolitan University. For, not to speak of the actual training in the Roman Schools of philosophy and divinity, there is the opportunity of meeting men of picked talent of many nations, some of whom have themselves shone as students or even professors in important centres of European culture. The young Irish Jesuit had been of a singularly receptive and social disposition, and had certainly not wasted such opportunities as came in his way of contact with highly cultivated minds in his own Order or outside of it.

Therefore it was his wish to encourage not only every sort of intellectual adventure but also those humble but useful efforts of his students to learn from one another the secrets of life. He wished the young men to come out into the open, to clash with minds other than their own, to spread their wings almost before they knew how to fly. The result was gradual and not easy for us now to trace. Yet we may recall a few events and endeavours chiefly by the help of

some who took in them a larger part, or have a better memory, than the present writers.

It has already been stated that from the beginning there was in University College a small but important element of residential students. Many of them were youths of special talent, several had been educated at Clongowes or Tullabeg, or other Jesuit schools, and thus were in close sympathy with the governors of the College. These Residents often formed the nucleus of student endeavour; they were on the spot in close contact with one another and with stimulating influences; while they were also in intimate association with the much larger class of non-residents. This arrangement, especially during the earlier years, counted for much in promoting the College activities. We have already emphasised the importance of co-operation with the Medical School, and therefore it is only necessary here to repeat that without the assistance of Cecilia Street, our achievements in the social line would have been impossible. We have also discussed the question of Father Carbery's policy during his period of rule, and have noted that it was less favourable to student-activity outside the classroom than the rule of Fr. Delany.

The history of the College appears to divide conveniently into three more or less distinct periods. Of the twenty-five years, we might describe the first decade, say 1883-93, as a period of steady growth; the second 1894-1904 as a period of triumphant success; the last period, 1905-9, as one of expectant reorganization. One way of testing this is to look at the Academic results, taking the list of Studentships won

from the College. This is a good test, because the standard for studentships was always high.<sup>1</sup>

In the period from 1883 to 1893 only seven Studentships fell to the College; in the following period they rose to eighteen; in the last period things were hardly so good. For in the three years, 1905-6-7, only two Studentships were won; this, however, was somewhat counterbalanced by the fact that in the penultimate year of the Royal University all the Studentships except one, i.e., three; and in the last year all the Studentships, i.e., four, were won by University College, Dublin.

But examination results are at most only a partial test of the life and the success of a centre of higher education. Anyhow, if we look at the question from a different angle, our classification of periods holds equally. In each of the periods we find a special group of students who were eminent not merely in the Schools but in College life—men who represented the character and mentality of their period and gave a lead to their contemporaries and were chiefly responsible for the College “atmosphere.”

Those of our readers who can still remember these several groups or coteries will bear out our statements. As to the fact of their talent, often brilliant talent, their subsequent history can be cited in evidence; but it is not merely a question of success. Character often does

<sup>1</sup> It was a well known fact, sometimes bitterly complained of, that examiners for Studentships persistently refused to award them except for real excellence in the respective subjects. Another point is that in ordinary degree examinations, some of the candidates belonging to University College relied upon training elsewhere, and this could seldom happen in the case of Studentships.



REV G. O'NEILL,	JAS JOYCE	J. M. O'SULLIVAN	R. I. KINAHAN	JAS CLANDHON	PATRICK SEMPLE
GEORGE CLANCY	REV E. HOGAN, S.J.		PROF ED GUDIC	REV JAS DARLINGTON	
FELIX HACKETT	THOMAS O'KELLY		MICH LENNON	CON P. CURRAN	



come to the front, but not always. And our contention is that each group had a special character and impressed a special mark upon its own period.

W. P. Coyne, as he is no longer with us, may be quoted as the type of the early days. His premature death was mourned generally—incidentally, it was referred to in the House of Commons as a national loss. He was surrounded by a group of men who have achieved distinction more perhaps in the academic world than outside<sup>2</sup>—Donovan, Magennis, the two McWeeneys, Jas. Daly, Bacon, Lennox, Howley, Duggan, Blaney, Dinneen, to mention a few. Those who read the story of the early years will understand the difficulties which these men individually and collectively surmounted. Theirs was the fate of pioneers, a steady uphill pull, the task of bequeathing to their successors a less trying ordeal. But the time for enthusiasm had not come, nor the consciousness that the battle was already more than half won.

In the second period, the period of Tom Kettle and his associates, there was far more corporate life at St. Stephen's Green. It was the period of *St. Stephen's*, of the Sodality Library Conferences, of the Literary and Historical in its best days, of the Choral Union and other College Societies, of victories won not merely in the examination hall but also in the athletic field. The group that characterised this period—O'Toole, Clery, Murnaghan, the two Kennedys, O'Sullivan, Doyle, the two Hacketts, Tom Bacon, Curran, the two Sheehys, James Joyce, Skeffington,

<sup>2</sup> Coyne himself did practical work for the Government, but it was of an academic character.



the two Dawsons, were among the foremost—this group was not merely brilliant, it was destined to do great things in the practical as well as the academic order. Around them, in them, and through them, University College had already come into its own, it was big with promise and already, in a sense, with fulfilment.

It is difficult to speak about the third period. Its more prominent members are with some exceptions, still alive,<sup>3</sup> and though it too had much to praise, yet the times into which it was thrown were not quite so auspicious as those of their forerunners. It was the period which produced *Hermes*, a fine achievement in its way, but a different way from that of *St. Stephen's*. The air was disturbed, change was coming, no one knew how or even when; a spirit of boredom leading to revolt was abroad; the leaders were mishandled both by the University and the College. Hope was still alive, and there were notable constructive efforts in the College, but they were doomed to comparative failure. *Hermes* was being run on purely ideal lines, the central interest was art, poetry, literary form, there was talent galore, something of the joy of battle, but no longer the *joue de vivre*. Round the personality of the projector of *Hermes*—a name already becoming rapidly known in the world of art—were grouped his victorious competitor for the Auditorship, Maurice

<sup>3</sup> Since this was written the early and lamented death of Cruise O'Brien, certainly a prominent member of the group, is announced. Moreover, it has been pointed out to us that taking a somewhat wider view of this particular generation of students, the mortality has been heavy. Besides O'Brien and Aedan Cox—Gerald O'Byrne, Tim Quinlan, Dick Sheehy, Rory O'Connor, M. J. O'Dempsey, and Charles Ronayne are all among the Departed.

Healy, with Aedan Cox, Cruise O'Brien, Duggan, two young Jesuits—Alfred O'Rahilly and William Keane—O'Connell, Paddy Little, Doyle again, the two McGilligans, E. Slattery. These men were thoroughly alive and several of them have achieved notable success in life, yet we think that during the period dominated by them, their circumstances were less inspiring than those of their forerunners. The old College was by no means crushed at the prospect of its sands running out, but running out they were, and our young collegers knew it well. Tom Bodkin and his compeers were looking towards the dawn, but the dawn was not in St. Stephen's Green.

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In the following account we shall include not merely the students' efforts at social intercourse more or less remote from the interests of study (and not connected with athletic enterprises which will be described separately). Another important branch of our subject will be those societies organized by groups of students in connection with their College work, occasionally indeed with the co-operation of members of the teaching staff, but unofficially so to say, and in an atmosphere of friendly intercourse.

The number of such societies was great, and necessarily of very varied character. In fact merriment was caused by the penchant at St. Stephen's Green and Cecilia Street for forming organizations;<sup>4</sup> but we shall

<sup>4</sup> In the pages of *St. Stephen's* mention will be found of at least thirty organizations belonging to one or other institution or both—about one-third of which were related to academic work. This does not include a number of societies outside the College and the School in which the students found opportunities of mixing.

confine ourselves principally to those efforts that reached fruition and were of real service to their members.

## 2.—*General Organizations.*

In spite of the multiplicity of College Societies there was some lack of organization upon a large scale—such as a Representative Council or Union or Club which would bind the students together irrespective of more or less sectional aims such as study, religion, debating, or athletic exercise. Towards the close of our history, as the nature of University life elsewhere became better known, a more distinct demand for a wide Collegiate union of some sort began to show itself. We have mentioned that, in the last journal produced in the old College,<sup>5</sup> when, as it was put, “a revolution in University education is at hand,” an appeal appeared for “Student Organization.” The article, which is ably written on evidently sound lines, deals not only with the necessity of a Students’ Representative Council, but with its relation to the various College Societies and the methods by which the conditions of the residence of students, whether in hostels or in lodging-houses, could be improved. It also pointed out that such a Council would give valuable assistance to the College authorities in the preservation of discipline, and would also be expected to promote student enterprises no matter of what description. These ideas were never realized in the old College, but it is only right for us to record the fact that in its successor they have been fully and satisfactorily carried out.

<sup>5</sup> *Hermes*, of February, 1908

To turn to the question of a Club or Union, which would be something less formal and official than a Representative Council, something was effected in the old days, though not upon a large scale.

Some time about the year 1904, for some unexplained reason, probably not wholly unconnected with politics, there had been a rift in the lute of harmony between the College and the School. We read in the *St. Stephen's* for June of that year a plaintive paragraph in "Notes from the Medical School," from the pen of T. J. M[adden], to the effect that "members of the College are often asking why a certain coolness exists between the Medical School and that institution. The School invites the College men to their dinners, and to march behind their banners in the Language Procession. We should like to know what return is given? How many of our students were invited to the Choral Union 'Invitation Concert'? After asking this we await with complacency the thunderings of the Secretaries."

This state of tension, such as it was, seems to have led directly to an *amoris integratio*.

The project of founding a Student's Club had been in the air in University College for some time, but was hanging fire, when the idea got abroad that if the matter could be taken up in common with the School, it might prove to be a cohesive influence. Mr. Patrick J. Little, who was put on *St. Stephen's* Editorial Staff, got together a Provisional Committee, of which he acted as Secretary, in the autumn of 1905. By the following February it was announced that premises had been secured, and that the new Club was an accom-

plished fact. Two meetings were held by the students of the Medical Faculty at which there was complete unanimity that the Club was to be for University Students of *all the Faculties*, although it had been suggested previously that it would be better to confine the Club to Cecilia Street, near which the original premises were located. So keen had been the discussion on both sides that the result was hailed with enthusiasm by the promoters of the Club. In future it was hoped the denizens of the School would throng the meetings of the students of the College, and *vice versâ*. It was prophesied "when the Club comes into being it will have the effect of welding into one mass all the student effort of Ireland and of animating it with the spirit of devotion to the country," and again, "This foundation marks a red-letter day in the annals of the Catholic University of Ireland. May it be to us the beginning of a better day."

The President of University College gave a handsome donation to the undertaking, but (owing partly to the burning down of the premises which were about to be occupied) the scheme had to be carried out on a more modest scale in Dawson Street, and though this was successful as far as it went, it hardly fulfilled the rather extravagant promises made concerning the future.

A much more modest scheme in the way of Club-forming had, however, succeeded about a year or two previously. This was the small and exclusive body calling itself by the name (adopted in much earlier days<sup>6</sup> by ex-members of the Catholic University) of

<sup>6</sup> The original C U I Bono was in existence when the Royal University was founded.

"Cui Bono." It was originally confined to undergraduates or graduates of not more than two years standing. The Club met outside the College at various centres and was restricted from the beginning to the small number of twelve; and later to actually existing members. No addition was ever to be made, although we understand that in practice two semi-honorary members were supposed by right of prescription to attend the meetings. These were intended originally to be of an extremely 'highbrow' nature, all problems connected with literature, art, and drama, rather than with politics, were to be discussed if not settled for ever. Subsequently this programme was eclipsed by the love of drinking (only *tea*, observe) and chatting freely. Finally the Club degenerated (or was elevated?) into a dining club, and in this capacity it haunted successively the Dolphin, the Moira, and finally Jury's Hotel, where it is said still to appear about once a year.

What we think worth mentioning about "Cui Bono?" is that upon its diminutive roll notable names occur. We may mention two who departed this life (very differently, but neither ingloriously), namely, Tom Kettle and Francis Skeffington; and may note that among the living are two Judges of the Court of Appeal; three Professors of the University; an Indian Official of mark; and two Cabinet Ministers. Not so bad among a baker's or even *plus-quam-baker's* dozen!

### 3.—*Literary and Historical Society.*

Like the College itself, its Literary and Historical Society claims to date from the days of Newman, and

even to have been founded by him. Moreover, at all times in the history of the College on its social side, this Society has been its most important and certainly its most vocal representative. Hence our readers will expect that we shall give a somewhat full account of its activities so far as it is now possible to recall them. Some of the Records, it is feared, have perished, but a good proportion remain; while the notices in the College journals are specially ample, and, though many prominent members are no longer with us, there are others still alive who have helped us with their recollections.

The original Minute Book with a set of Rules for the year 1856 was found among the papers of the late Mr. John Dillon, M.P., whose representatives have kindly put it at our disposal for reference. There are also extant in print a number of Inaugural Addresses, all prior to the year 1880; and an amusing set of Rules for 1856-7.

In our own period, that is, from the year 1882 onwards, there is a large-sized new Minute Book entitled *Union Literary Society*, which gives a full account of the proceedings. It records for a single Session the meetings of the whole Society; and (after a break of two years—during which we know that the Society was active) those of the Committee only, i.e., from 1885 to 1890, down to the year when the break of seven years occurred under Father Carbery. In 1897, when under Fr. Delany the Society was resuscitated, we have the record of six meetings only; for after the 20th January, 1898, this interesting volume ends with an entry made by A. Clery. Although the



*ULL ROVO*

WILL DAWSON J. M. O'SULLIVAN HUGH KENNEDY VINCENT CLARK  
 T. ELLIN HACKETT F. KETTEL CHAS. MCGARRA JAS. MURNAGHAN C. F. CURRAN





book was not half-filled, a new volume, perhaps of more portable shape, must have been started. This is no longer accessible, since—as we tell elsewhere—the Records of the Society were sequestered during the troubles of 1906.

In the following year, 1907, a new series of Records was started which is still extant and in progress; but only two of its sessions belong to the history of the old College which we are relating.

We naturally attach importance to the succession of Auditors who presided over ordinary meetings and annually gave their Inaugural Addresses before a distinguished audience. We are able to give the series fully from the year preceding the establishment of the new College<sup>7</sup> as follows:—

Auditor	Subject
1882- 3 Joseph McGrath	
1883- 4 Rev. T. A. Finlay	
1884- 5 Robert Donovan	
1885- 6 Edmund Young	
1886- 7 Joseph J. Farrell	
1887- 8 P. J. Lennox	
1888- 9 William Magennis	
1889-90 John Howley	"The Lessons of Prussian Education"
(Break of seven years)	
1897- 8 Francis Skeffington	"Realism in Fiction"
1898- 9 Thomas Kettle	"The Keltic Note in Literature"
1899-00 Arthur Clery	"Irish Genius in English Literature"
1900- 1 Hugh Kennedy	"The University Question"

<sup>7</sup> The College was nominally started in 1882; but we are chiefly concerned with its history after its proper organization by Fr. Delany in the following year.

Auditor	Subject
1901- 2 Robert Kinahan	"Social Problems"
1902- 3 William Dawson	"Problems of Progress"
1903- 4 John P. Doyle	"Idea of a University"
1904- 5 Richard J. Sheehy	"National Ideals and Con- ciliation"
1905- 6 Thomas F. Bacon	"University Education"
1906- 7 Cruise O'Brien	"Democracy and Educa- tion"
1907- 8 Maurice Healy	"Industrial Development"
1908- 9 Thomas Bodkin	"Home Rule"

The election of the auditorship often caused a good deal of excitement in the College: at least we can record three important contests, one for each of the periods into which we have divided the College history.

The first keenly-contested fight was between Edmund Young and Joseph J. Farrell. The former was victorious, and Farrell had to wait till the following year, when he succeeded his conqueror in the office. Both of these well deserved their laurels, as is shown by the records.

The second contest occurred in 1897, between Francis Skeffington and James A. Joyce, popularly described as "Jimmy" or "The Hatter." The voting went to the former, and the Hatter never wore this particular crown.

In the year 1907 there was a more equal fight—that between Maurice Healy and Tom Bodkin. The former won the contest, but once more the loser reaped the reward of his merits and his canvass in the following Session. Thus was closed the list of Auditors of the old College.

\* \* \* \*

The authorities naturally did all they could to help this useful Society. Fr. Delany was President, and many members of the Staff both clerical and lay attended from time to time, occasionally as private members, as Frs. Darlington and O'Neill, or Messrs. Magennis, Coyne, John Bacon, and Conway, or perhaps more often when invited to preside, as Fr. Finlay and many others. Graduates of the College living in Dublin attended freely, as they did also at various other College Societies. We might mention the names of John McDonald, James Murnaghan, Dudley White, many of the ex-Auditors, especially Kettle, Kennedy, Clery, Dawson, Doyle, Tom Bacon.

All sorts of subjects were debated, generally—but not always—seriously; and parties were formed on vital questions such as the Position of Women, Compulsory Irish in Schools, Industrial questions, and the Temperance Movement. There was sometimes unconscious humour, as when Mr. John Kennedy, in a debate about Teetotalism, in a paroxysm of zeal attacked the priesthood of Ireland for drinking “whisky-and-water”—he had seen it even with his own eyes—“and that in the presence of ladies”! Father Finlay, who was in the Chair in vain endeavoured to pacify the speaker on the ground that he might find such a campaign as was recommended a more serious matter than he expected. But Mr. Kennedy was serious. He thundered forth the awful question, “But even you, Mr. Chairman, you *will agree that something must be done.*” The Chairman was so taken aback that he was heard weakly to reply, “Yes, perhaps something must be done!” but was drowned in the laughter of

the audience. The proceedings were not always on such an amicable scale. There was an element of objectors, led by Mr. Skeffington and a few other kindred spirits, who were "agin the government"—that is, the officials of the Society. Hence nearly half the time, sometimes more, was taken up by questions, notices of motions, general recriminations, and heated debates on points of order.

Then came the culminating excitement. After a long searching of hearts and fresh heated debates, a narrow majority decided upon the solemn expulsion from the Society of Mr. F. Skeffington as the head-centre of disturbance. This was all very well, but the head-centre refused to be expelled, or at least to be ejected from the Debating Hall. Force had to be resorted to: it was carried out as decorously as possible, but by no means without a physical struggle. The ritual seems to have been strictly observed, that when "Skeff" was got once outside the door he was not to continue the struggle, though we believe a guard was posted on the door. But if the Chief kept quiet, not so his subordinates, including (we regret to say) the grave Felix Hackett, who was known in many capacities, but only on this single occasion as a boxer and contortionist. Tradition tells that in the end he was expelled, but at no small cost to the Persecutors.<sup>8</sup> Another more peaceful plan was to snatch a division in favour of restoring their hero, who

<sup>8</sup> Tradition also used to maintain that even James Murnaghan was one of the rioters who suffered summary ejection; but this story is gradually tending to lose its credibility in the case of a Justice of the Appeal Court.—[EDITOR.]

rarely deigned to return, but when he did it was with the result that they had all the fun over again.

We should not like to give the impression that all through the Literary and Historical Society was a hot-bed of rowdyism. On the contrary, such episodes were but incidents enlivening its history, even if they lasted (more or less spasmodically) for a term or perhaps longer. It happened, owing sometimes to the excitement prevailing when the Society was most active, that it was found difficult to get the members to adjourn. They could never have enough; on the other hand, the Residents were expected to retire at a moderate hour, and the College had to be closed for the night. A fateful bell was then rung outside the door of the Physics Theatre, where meetings were held. This was represented by the 'sparks' as an intolerable piece of tyranny, and we find sarcastic references to the grievance in the "College Notes" of *St. Stephen's*. After these ruthless expulsions by authority, it was reported that the heated discussions were regularly continued in the street outside.

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There was occasionally some interference by the President in regard to subjects of debate, especially when politics were in question. Even so far back as Newman's time the Society had been warned to avoid matters of acute controversy, and possibly on account of the University question, Father Delany was nervous about giving a pretext to the enemies of the College in or outside of the Government.<sup>9</sup> If we revert to an

<sup>9</sup> It should be understood that even the ordinary Literary and Historical Debates were announced or reported in the Press.

incident or an early period, on December 11, 1885, it had been proposed by Mr. Eugene Downing to discuss the question, "That separation from England would be more advantageous to Ireland than simple Repeal of the Union," at a meeting originally fixed for December 18, and subsequently postponed after a good deal of discussion to January 22 of the following year. The Committee met on January 15; and after separating they received a communication from the President that he disapproved of holding the debate as arranged. The meeting was continued, there being present Messrs. Young (Auditor and Chairman), Coyne, Dinneen, Bacon, Lennox, and Ledwith. They agreed to postpone the debate and to substitute a less controversial question. At the following meeting of the Committee Mr. Farrell objected to this decision, and solemnly entered his protest that the "subsequent" meeting had been called without due authority. The incident passed over without serious friction—differently from what at a later date would probably have occurred. It appears from the Minutes that there was also difficulty about reading a paper by Mr. Clinton upon "Socialism in Ireland." On February 19, 1886, the Committee accepted this offer for the 26th, "subject to the approval of the Very Rev. Rector (President of University College)"; and at a Committee meeting held later on that day, a notice was read from Mr. Clinton saying that "under the circumstances he declined to read his paper." We are not told what the circumstances were; but some unacceptable conditions as to the treatment of the subject appear to have been made by Father Delany.

During the following session, 1886-7, Mr. Darlington, now Dean of Studies but not yet Professor, took a leading part in the Society. In March, 1887, he was asked to draw up, along with Messrs. Howley and Nolan, a properly-worded list of subjects for debate, of which twelve were accepted by the Committee, who congratulated the sub-committee upon their efficiency. On October 7 of the same year it was announced that Mr. Darlington was leaving Ireland for Louvain and must now resign his office of Hon. Treasurer, when the following resolution was proposed by Mr. Duggan, seconded by Mr. Nolan, and carried unanimously: "That this Committee, having learned with regret the Rev. Mr. Darlington's departure from University College, beg to tender him their most sincere thanks for the interest he took in their work during the past session, and for his able co-operation in the management of the Society."

It may interest our readers to know that upon February 19, 1886, Mr. Denis Coffey was "re-admitted as a member of the Society" together with Mr. H. C. McWeeney and Mr. T. F. Molony.<sup>10</sup> On November 3 of the same year, Mr. Coffey's name was announced as among those elected to a new Committee; but he does not appear to have taken a very active part in the meetings, and on February 11 following, "a letter was read from Mr. Coffey, B.A., explaining his absence from Committee meetings, the members having considered the matter decided that the explanation was satisfactory." Alas! again the details are omitted. But any-

<sup>10</sup> Afterwards Sir Thomas Molony, Bart., the last Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.



how the future President had a less narrow escape than Mr. Coyne the Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. Downing the Correspondence Secretary. Upon April 2, 1886, we read that the Minute Secretary pilloried these two officials for being absent from roll-call for three consecutive meetings, and only with difficulty did he consent to expunge from his minutes the obnoxious sentence.

All these and other equally thrilling events belong to the early period of the Society before 1890. When after the interval of break the Society was resuscitated in 1897, we find in the College journals much of interest. Besides the Inaugurals there was the competition for Gold and Silver Medals for oratory in the various debates according to notes given by ballot by the audiences. Originally the awards were certificates only: we read for instance that Mr. Magennis was awarded one of these in 1887 upon an average of 42 marks, when John Howley got his upon 53 marks, and L. J. Nolan upon 52. The medals naturally were sought with more avidity.

Still, the Inaugural Address was the great event of the year. The meetings were held in the Aula Maxima, Fr. Delany, presiding as President of the Society, supported practically by the whole College Staff. Moreover, the leading men in public life, statesmen, judges, and lawyers, doctors, and civil servants, men of letters or of distinction in Science or the Arts, were invited as speakers. Invitations were eagerly sought, with the result that the Hall was more than crowded to capacity—even, as many feared, to the point of danger. There was, of course,

a large element in the audience of students who were lively (according to their wont); and indeed it must be admitted that at times it was difficult or impossible for speakers to be heard, except of course when they were exceptionally popular.<sup>11</sup> The rowdy element did not always belong to the College, as strangers could easily obtain admission, although at one period efforts were made to restrict the issue of tickets, as distinct from personal cards of invitation to strangers or members of the staff.

We proceed to give an account of some of these interesting functions without, as we hope, being tedious or attempting an enumeration of all the Inaugurals which in their own day provoked interest or even sometimes amusement. We may transcribe the following minute of a Committee meeting held on November 13, 1885, "It was decided to give the auditor and the secretary power to procure speakers to the Resolutions for Tuesday the 17th inst. [the Inaugural of Mr. Edmund Young]. The following names were mentioned as being fit and proper persons to be asked:—T. Sexton, Esq., M.P.; Thom. MacDermot, Q.C.; E. Dwyer Gray, M.P.; John G. McCarthy, Esq.; Dr. Webbe, Q.C.; Michael Davitt, Esq.; Very Rev. Jas. B. Kavanagh, D.D., P.P."

We do not know how far this resolution proved successful, but as far as it goes it appears to have promised well.

At a much later date, namely, December 1902, an article entitled "The Auditor among the Mammono-

<sup>11</sup> During the last years of the College circumstances aggravated this difficulty, as will be related in Chapter XIV

phobes," by 'Cinna'—being an account of the Inaugural on "Problems of Progress," given on November the 14th, by William Dawson.

We read that, "It was our first really philosophical Inaugural Address and unexpectedly furnished materials for a debate... The note struck throughout the night was the denunciation of Mammon. This "least erected" Spirit received worse treatment from Mr. Dawson and the majority of the speakers than he ever experienced at the hands of the avenging Michael. The Auditor was happy in his choice of speakers... It was the best all-round Inaugural yet held."

The speakers were the Hon. William Gibson (afterwards Lord Ashbourne); Mr. Cherry, K.C. (afterwards Lord Justice Cherry); Mr. W. P. Coyne; and Mr. Charles P. O'Connor, K.C. (afterwards Master of the Rolls). "Mr. Coyne, who, in our opinion, made the best speech of the four, never digressed from the subject for a moment. He criticised the pessimism of the address in ornate and convincing language, and made out a good case for the nineteenth century." Fr. Delany presided, and he too is praised for "his optimism, at least as regards Ireland, which he considered was on the eve of a resurrection, and possessed the makings of a great nation if indeed it were not already the finished product."

The article ends with a tribute of praise to the "gallery," which was rarely noisier and at the same time more orderly.

Should our readers on the other hand care to see an account of a far from orderly meeting, namely that of Mr. T. F. Bacon, B.A., upon November 22nd, 1905,

let them turn to Chapter XIV. of this book, page 543. In that Chapter we shall be dealing with the stormy period through which in its closing years the College had to steer its way. The Literary and Historical Society became deeply involved in those quarrels, which for a time paralysed its legitimate activity, but we prefer to refrain here from dealing with that part of its history. We may, however, note that at Mr. R. J. Sheehy's meeting on 'Conciliation' in 1904, the vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. John Dillon, M.P., and seconded by Mr. William J. O'Reilly, D.L.

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We must not omit to allude to the Inter-Debates carried on with rival societies in Dublin, and more rarely outside of it. These gave a special stimulus to the Society when regarded as a real organ of education, as they tended to draw the men away from triviality and to put them on their mettle as coming orators.<sup>12</sup>

We have records of debates with the Solicitors' Apprentices, which commenced in the Session 1901-2, and were continued annually; with Edinburgh University; and with all the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway. These latter took place away from home, but there were return visits to Dublin. Among these visits that of the Debating Society of Queen's College, Belfast, was an event which aroused considerable interest and was reported at some length in the Press. It was held on May 14, 1906, in the Aula

<sup>12</sup> It was remarkable that of the ten Auditors from 1898 to 1908, seven proceeded to the Irish, and one to the English Bar. One of the two remaining is a Judge in India.

Maxima, Fr. Delany presiding. A large number of the Professors were present, and some distinguished guests, among whom were the Under-Secretary, Sir J. B. Dougherty, Mr. Commissioner Bailey, Sir John Ross of Bladensburg, Surgeon McArdle, Mr. Charles Doyle, K.C., T. M. Kettle, B.L., Mr. M. Bodkin, K.C., and Mr. Charles Dawson.

The subject of Debate was "Cosmopolitanism—the Legitimate Goal of Political Evolution?" University College opened on the Affirmative side, Mr. T. F. Bacon, B.A., the Auditor, defended 'Cosmopolitanism,' which, he said, meant the unification of the nations in a common system of constitutional government, into which the nations should enter voluntarily.

Mr. Corry Arnold, B.A., on behalf of the Belfast Society, maintained on the other hand that if men were made cosmopolitans, and if all feeling of national life—the feeling that the State is a man's own State—were taken away, the incentive to work for the progress of one's own country would disappear. They would also be in danger of destroying literature, which thrives on nationality, and with it would go pride of race and love of country.

Other speakers for the Dublin Society were Messrs. W. Keane, Cruise O'Brien, and R. J. Sheehy—but not all upon the affirmative side. From Belfast, Messrs. J. M. Johnston, B.A., J. A. Fisher, M.A., and J. Anderson also joined in the Debate, which was most successful and a happy instance of "Irish Cosmopolitanism." Of course the voting went mainly on the negative side.

At the Edinburgh debate, which was upon Home

Rule, the College was represented by Messrs. Dawson, Bodkin, and McGilligan. The debate in Galway was shared by all the Queen's Colleges as well as University College, and Messrs. Cox and R. O'Connor represented the latter.

#### 4.—*Other College Societies.*

Among the College Societies, after the Literary and Historical, we might, perhaps, place next in importance that run by the Philosophers, and entitled the 'Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas.' Its appeal was fairly general, so that it seemed to bring together the more serious-minded of the students of various Faculties or groups.

It has been related how, in the first year of the College, a number of talented under-graduates, residents and others, were exercised in their minds about Scholastic Philosophy, and how the militant zeal of Père Mallac had caused a strong spirit of controversy. After his departure there was a lull in disputation, and moreover, other subjects coming more to the front, the numbers who read for a Degree in Philosophy were at least relatively diminished. However, interest in philosophy did not fail; and, if it faltered, it was revived by the founding of the Academy in the autumn of 1901. Fr. Delany as President took the chair at the inaugural meeting, and Professor Finlay was present. The leading spirit, however, of this new development was Professor Magennis, who was at this time surrounded by a militant group of his own philosophical students, just as he himself had been a prominent

member of the early group referred to. He was warmly supported by Father Darlington, who was at the time a Professor of Philosophy; and also by Mr. Coyne, who had taken an Honours Degree in this subject.

Among the more distinguished students who founded the Academy or joined it at an early date, were John O'Sullivan, who, we have already stated, took a Doctorate in Philosophy in Heidelberg University, and is now Minister of Education; Vesey Hague, who in 1897 took a Studentship in Philosophy in the Royal University; Cornelius Murphy, who obtained a Doctorate in Philosophy in the Royal in 1906; John Lenaghan; and among students of other Faculties, John P. Doyle, A. Clery, Felix Hackett, and W. Fallon. John Howley was out of the country, but returned at a later date. Professors Henry Browne and George O'Neill attended occasionally; and from outside the College Dr. Walter McDonald from Maynooth, Dr. Michael Cronin from Clonliffe, the brothers Geoffrey and Dudley White from Trinity College, and the late versatile and active Dr. J. C. McWalter, M.A. The Reports from this Society are full, and from them it may be gathered that the discussions were of a high order, frequently on the most fundamental questions of ethics and metaphysics. At one meeting the philosophy of Bacon was discussed and the most opposing views of his merits were expressed—perhaps, on the whole, unfavourable views. The "Ethics of a Lie" also came in for serious attention.

The year 1903 was a good one for the Academy. There must soon after have been a temporary lull; for

in 1904 we read of the Academy being “resurrected”; but in 1905, we read: “Last year only one meeting gave any reason to think the Academy was alive.” John M. O’Sullivan was now in Heidelberg—was that the reason of the temporary eclipse? But such occasional lapses were to be expected. When the Academy was at its brightest it was reported one day that, when the meeting had been turned out of the College on account of the lateness of the hour, the discussions were continued on the College steps and even in the streets. During the day sometimes the metaphysicians were observed still hammering out their arguments, in the College corridors, and giving the Philistines an opportunity to jeer.

We have referred above to the accession to the College Staff of Dr. (afterwards Professor) Cronin as Lecturer upon Ethics, in the Hilary Term of 1906. The Academy called upon the students of the College to avail themselves of this new and valuable opportunity for gaining acquaintance with ethical science. They also hoped that the former members of the Society would now rally round Dr. Cronin and Mr. C. J. Murphy, M.A., who was to lecture in the evenings on the Post-Graduate course; and that thus the Academy of St. Thomas would be able to resume its public discussions.

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Another Society that was well supported both by the College and by outsiders was the Classical Society, founded about the same year as the Classical Association of Ireland, of which event a full description has been given. These were, of course, two distinct



organizations, with, however, a slight link, namely that the Auditor of the University College Society (as also those of Trinity College and Queen's College, Belfast) sat as *ex officio* members upon the Council of the National Association. The College Society was, like the parent organization, well supported by Professors and others. Among the strangers who attended the meetings at St. Stephen's Green were Professor Purser, and Messrs. Alton and Kennedy, Fellows of Trinity College, and Mr. Crook, M.A., who read an interesting paper on certain "Homeric Epithets" which, he maintained, threw a welcome light upon the poems. The semi-public meetings were not held in the Aula Maxima, but only in a classroom—one reason, perhaps, being that it was more important to direct attention to the Presidential Addresses of the Classical Association of Ireland, which were given in greater state in the Theatre of the Royal Dublin Society.

An interesting movement was the organizing of the Légion Française by Professor Cadic early in Hilary Term, 1902. This soon took its place as a recognised institution, the idea being to promote French-speaking among the students. They were invited to join in excursions or long walks in common, during which only the language was to be permitted. Frequently two or three native French speakers joined in with the party, which was a clear advantage for student-members. Although like other Societies, this very useful one had some ups and downs, it was continued for a long series of years. There was at one time



RYA G. O'NEILL, S. J.  
JOHN CALLAGHAN

ROBERT O'DWYER

CHAS. MCCABRY

VINCENT CLARKE



an attempt at getting up some sort of a French Dining Club, but we do not know that it was a great success.

Among other notable College Societies we must certainly rank the "Scientific Club" at the College—not to be identified with the "Medical and Scientific Society" at the School. The latter dealt mostly with professional subjects and did not draw outsiders as a rule. The Club was rather more popular; there are many notices of its activities in *St. Stephen's*, which suggest that it was kept well in the limelight. The leading spirit during its early years was Felix Hackett, a man of many-sided activity as our readers will have observed. His researches into the supposed N-Rays caused much interest and incidentally some hilarity among the students, possibly because the demonstrations took place in a dark room. But while the wits were penning their lampoons on Hackett's simplicity, his paper describing the experiments was published by the Royal Dublin Society—at its own expense—and the leading English weekly, the *Athenaeum*, referred to the paper and the controversy quickened by it as a matter of international import. It so happened the French and German scientists were ranging themselves in opposite camps as to the existence of these rays.<sup>13</sup> This was about the end of 1904.

It has been mentioned that Mr. (afterwards Professor) Bailey Butler took his Degree in 1905, though he did not qualify in Medicine till some years later. But as College Lecturer in Biology he began to make his

<sup>13</sup> Time seems to have proved that Hackett and the French were wrong.

mark, and was active in promoting the Scientific Club. At one time he tried to start a Society for research on the Marine Fauna of Dublin Bay; and he also arranged a botanical garden at the back of 86, St. Stephen's Green, and organized Botanical Excursions in the Dublin Mountains. This was near the date of the new University and the end of the College.

Some time about 1906 a new Society had been formed in conjunction with the School called the Catholic University Scientific Society, which had languished but was called into new life in 1908 by Mr. O'Rahilly's efforts. A meeting early in the year was called by the President Professor Conway; a new Committee formed consisting of Messrs. Butler, Dowling, Gregg, Keane, Quinlan, O'Connor; Dowling was made Hon. Sec., and Gregg Hon. Treasurer. A good programme was announced; at the next meeting Professor Finlay was to preside, and papers were promised by Professor Seymour on "The Mineral Resources of Ireland," also by Professors McClelland, Conway, Bergin, Butler, and Mr. Dowling. We have noted this sign of life at a time when, of course, many considerations tended to produce a falling-off in activities connected with the old College.

#### *5.—The Choral Union.*

University College Choral Union started on its career in January 1899. Its beginnings were very small, the earliest members being Messrs John J. McDonald, Richard V. Slattery, Alfred N. McLaughlin,

Cornelius Little, Harry Clifton, Seamus Clandillon, Peter Byrne, Charles J. MacGarry, J. C. O'Farrell, and James V. Clarke.

The Union was fortunate in its founder, Father George O'Neill, S.J., M.A., Professor of English Literature in the College, and any notice of the Union would be incomplete which did not make reference to his brilliant qualities as a musician and organizer, and also to his happy faculty of making young men take an interest in good music. On Sunday mornings it was usual for a number of students to resort to the Aula Maxima of the College, where Father O'Neill, who was a delightful pianist, was always ready to play accompaniments for amateur vocalists. Renderings of Schubert, Mozart, Chopin, Wagner, etc., etc., were frequently given at these little meetings, and thus was originated in many of those present a genuine taste for music of the highest class. Father O'Neill was a very well-known figure in musical circles in Dublin, and was an energetic member of the Feis Ceoil Committee. He was to be seen at all the principal concerts, and his services were frequently requisitioned as an accompanist. When he had a ticket to spare it was his practice to invite one of the members of the Choral Union to accompany him, and in the intervals of the performance he would improve the shining hour by keen criticism and by endeavouring to ascertain the exact impression made on the mind of his companion by orchestral or instrumental items. His friendship with the leading musicians of Dublin was of great advantage to the Union, as they were always ready to oblige him; and

the names of such distinguished performers as Signor Esposito, Mr. Clyde Twelvetrees, and Mr. Arthur Darley (to mention only a few) on the Concert Programmes of the Union were a constant attraction. Father O'Neill's departure for Australia some years ago to take up an important position in the educational work of that country created a vacancy in the musical life of Dublin which has not been filled; but Australia is indeed fortunate if he is able to devote to her some of the musical capacity with which Dublin was so familiar.

The Musical Director of the Union was Mr. Robert O'Dwyer, now Professor of Irish Music in the National University. Mr. O'Dwyer brought to his work a practical knowledge acquired as Director of an Opera Company. In addition, he was blessed with an inexhaustible stock of patience, a quality very necessary for a conductor—the writer remembers that on occasions the Choir was simply shamed into overcoming choral difficulties by his patience and determination. This was the period of the renaissance of Irish Art and Literature, and Mr. O'Dwyer did his part in writing and producing his opera in Irish, "Eithne." His work for Irish music was important. Anyone who has listened much to Irish traditional music cannot have failed to notice that strange elusive something, so difficult to describe, which differentiates that music from the music of other countries. Most arrangers of Irish airs have failed altogether to catch that characteristic note, without which the airs lose much of their native charm; but in Mr. O'Dwyer's arrangements of Irish

airs for choirs—made in connection with the Choral Union and with the Oireachtas Choir which was organised at the time—he succeeded in preserving the ancient characteristics of the music and indeed proved himself an artist. It may be added that his power of entering into the spirit of former times was shown in the musical score written by him in connection with the performance of Greek Odes at the *Conversazione* given to the British Association in September 1908 by the President and Council of the Classical Association, as mentioned elsewhere in this work.

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The Union owed much of its success to its first Secretary, Mr. Alfred N. McLaughlin. His geniality and earnestness were invaluable. He had a great influence over the students, and he did much, especially in the Medical School, towards popularising the Union. Unfortunately his all-round energy was too much for his strength. In 1902 he suffered a complete break-down, due in a measure to the large amount of work done by him for the Union, and he was ordered abroad. His early death was a great shock to his many friends in University College.

Mention must also be made of Mr. John J. MacDonald, who was Treasurer of the Union in the early years of its existence and took a deep interest in everything connected with it.

The Union very soon took its place as one of the leading societies in the College. Its Smoking Concerts, several of which were given each season, were very popular with the students; it lent its



assistance to the College Sodality when sacred music was required; and it rendered the music of a Mass in University Church on the occasion of the Jubilee of the College. The annual *Conversazione* became an important social event, to which invitations were eagerly sought. Before the advent of the Choral Union the Aula Maxima was regarded as a dull, bare place to which one resorted only on the occasion of the Inaugural Meeting of the Literary and Historical Society or the annual *Conversazione* (always a brilliant affair) of the Sodality, but those who were Students of the old College will recall many pleasant evenings when that Hall appeared to have undergone a transformation at the hands of the Choral Union Committee and to have become a home of song and laughter.

But the Committee, while ever recognising the claims of the students, had set before itself the task of forming in the College a musical society capable of performing works of a high class. The first efforts at public concerts were necessarily modest, the Programme being made up of three or four choral items (with or without piano accompaniment), and solos, vocal or instrumental, by members of the Union or by well-known musicians who kindly gave their services. In a few years, however, the Choir, in the capable hands of Mr. O'Dwyer, reached a high state of efficiency, and the Committee decided that the time had come for more ambitious work such as Cantatas, Scenes from Operas, etc. This, of course, necessitated the formation of an orchestra, a work surrounded with difficulties and entailing heavy

expense. But difficulties were only made to be overcome, and in the Autumn Session of 1901 an Orchestra was formed under the leadership of Mr. N. P. Healy. Several distinguished musicians gave their willing aid to this Orchestra, Mr. Arthur Darley and Mr. Macaulay Fitzgibbon deserving special mention. The Dublin Instrumental Club was generous in its assistance, and it is of special interest to recall that amongst the members of that Club who gave their services on several important occasions was Mr. (now Sir) Hamilton Harty, who played the viola. Mr. James Brooke Tyrrell, and Mr. Robert Camac, both University College men, were prominent in the work, the latter always presiding at the "Double Bass," one of the treasured possessions of the Union. The late Father William Butler, S.J., also gave great assistance, sometimes as a cellist, sometimes as a violinist.

The progress of the Union may be judged from the following abstract of some of the performances:

First Concert, May 1899. The programme, which is the first ever issued by the Union, and therefore of interest, is here reproduced.

### **P R O G R A M M E**

#### **PART I.**

PIANO DUET	"Torchlight Dance"	<i>Moszkowski</i>
MR. JAMES TYRRELL and MR. A. D. O'CARROLL		
CHORUS	"A Legend of the Rhine"	<i>Smart</i>
(Charlemagne blessing the Vineyards)		
THE U.C. CHORAL UNION		
SONG	"The Dear Old Land"	<i>Slaughter</i>
MR. ALFRED McLAUGHLIN		
SONG	"Kathleen Mavourneen"	<i>Crouch</i>
MASTER JAMES WORTH		

**VIOLIN SOLO** "La Sonnambula" *Bellini-Bizini*  
**REV. WILLIAM BUTLER**

**SONG** —————  
**MR. ARNOLD**

**SONG** "Friends" *Löhr*  
 (with violin obligato)

**MR. CHARLES MOORE**  
**CHORUS** "Erin, the Tear" *Irish Melody*  
**U.C. CHORAL UNION with BOYS' CHOIR**

—————  
 INTERVAL OF EIGHT MINUTES.

**PART II.**

**PIANO DUET** "Norwegian Dance" *Grieg*  
**MR. A. D. O'CARROLL and MR. JAMES TYRRELL**

**CHORUS** "A Capstan Chorus" *Smart*  
**THE U.C. CHORAL UNION**

**SONG** "Thoughts and Tears" *Temple*  
**MR. EUGENE COLLINS**

**MANDOLINE SOLO** "Serenade" *Haydn-Waud*  
**MR. EDMUND BARRY**

**SONG** "Asthore" *Trotère*  
**MR. A. McLAUGHLIN**

**VIOLIN SOLO** "Souvenir de Moscou" *Wienawski*  
**REV. WILLIAM BUTLER**

**GRAND FINALE** "Comrades in Arms" *Adolphe Adam*  
**U.C. CHORAL UNION**

December 1901. A Concert, principally Sacred, two of the items being Mendelssohn's "Hear my Prayer" and Gounod's "O Sing to God." The Chorus was assisted by the Boys' Choir of St. Mary's College, Rathmines, and, including the Orchestra, which made its first appearance, there were almost seventy performers. Mr. O'Dwyer's "Rosaline" Overture was performed by the Orchestra at this concert.

June 1902. Concert. "The Desert" (a Cantata by Felicien David) was presented, the Dublin Instru-

mental Club lending some of its best performers to swell the Orchestra.

February 1903. Concert. "Salamis—A Song of Victory" (a Cantata by Gernsheim) was the principal item.

June 1903. Concert. "Columbus" a Cantata by Gadsby). The Orchestra performed, *inter alia*, the Overture from Schubert's "Rosamund," and at the piano Signor Esposito gave his delightful arrangement of "The Coulin" and "The West's Awake."

May 1904. Concert. An ambitious undertaking. The Concert opened with the Overture from Mendelssohn's "Son and Stranger." There were two Cantatas—"The Lay of the Exiled Norsemen" (Max Bruch) and "The Luck of Edenhall" (Schumann), this being the first occasion on which the latter Cantata was performed in Ireland. The Orchestra performed the first and second movements of Beethoven's "First Symphony," and the Concert closed with the Overture from "Fra Diavolo."

February 1905. Concert. "Columbus" (Cantata by Gadsby). The Orchestra performed, *inter alia*, Mozart's "D Major Symphony." At this Concert Father Benjamin O'Donovan, a wonderful pianist was introduced by Father O'Neill, and contributed several pianoforte items.

February 1906. Concert. First Scene from "Il Trovatore." Sailors' Chorus from "The Flying Dutchman" (Wagner) with Orchestra, Liszt's arrangement for Chorus and Orchestra of Schubert's "Great is Jehovah." The Orchestra also performed the Overture to "Il Flauto Magico."

May 1906. Concert (in Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin) in aid of St. Vincent de Paul Society. The Programme was largely a repetition of that of the February Concert.

February 1908. Concert. Overture from "Il Flauto Magico." Cantata: "Harold Harfager" (Pointer). Solo and Chorus from Gadsby's "Columbus" with Orchestra. Overture from "Fra Diavolo."

Mendelssohn Centenary Concert. Mendelssohn's "Antigone," the largest work till then attempted by the Union, was presented very successfully. This was the first occasion on which a lady, who took a solo part, appeared on the stage with the Chorus. Mendelssohn's "Son and Stranger" Overture was also performed by the Orchestra.

A glance through the foregoing abstract will show the great advance made by the Choral Union from the date of its foundation up to the passing of old University College.

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The history of a Society like the Choral Union must, of course, be mainly a record of work done and can contain little or nothing humorous. Perhaps the most humorous thing in its history was the constant war waged against it by *St. Stephen's*, the College journal. The reason for this hostility is not easy to discover, but it may partly be ascribed to the fact that the period was that of the Irish Language Revival and some ardent spirits desired that the Concerts should be mainly confined to Irish music.<sup>14</sup> As a matter of fact

<sup>14</sup> On this subject see A. Clery in "The Passing of University College." Chap. XVI, p. 586

the Union did its share in bringing Irish music before the Dublin public. On the occasion of one attack (March 1903) the Secretary wrote:—

In the few years of its existence the Union has done, and is now doing, real pioneer work for the cause of Irish Choral music. The task which faced us on the threshold of our career was no light one, for we found in the field practically no arrangement of our national airs harmonised for male voices. The eight new settings of Irish Airs which we have produced had all to be specially arranged for us, and we can look with pride on the fact that our Society was the means of introducing to the world the beautiful and musicianly versions of Father O'Neill and Mr. O'Dwyer.

The name of Mr. Seamus Clandillon, famous for his renderings of Irish traditional airs, frequently appeared on the programmes, and the Irish harp and Irish bagpipes were also in evidence. But it was all no use. If *St. Stephen's* was dislodged from its position on the Irish Music question it returned to the fray when a Cantata such as "Salamis" had been performed, and would grumble because the choir had not appeared in "costume," or would take fierce exception to the size, etc., of the concert poster. These attacks could sometimes be irritating; but the Choral Union kept on its way and was never stronger than at the time (1908) when the Jesuit *régime* at the College came to an end.

The existing University College Dublin Musical Society (National University) is proud to put on its programmes "Founded 1899," thus claiming (and fairly claiming) direct continuity with the Choral Union. Professor O'Dwyer has therefore the distinction, which must be almost unique in the history of musical societies, of being the conductor of one

society without a break for fully thirty years. The President of the University College (National University) Musical Society is Professor A. E. Clery, who was at one time a member of the Choral Union.

*The following notes are contributed by  
Professor George O'Neill, M.A.*

The Society began, I think, in 1898—anyhow very soon after I entered into residence, which was in 1897. There was, of course, hesitation as to choice of a conductor. Dr. Rogers and a lot of others were thought of. In a haphazard way Mr. Robert O'Dwyer was decided on. He remained faithful to the Choral Union. He was always energetic, not to be discouraged, singularly unmercenary. He was at times ill paid, or not paid at all. That troubled him little—the one thing that troubled him was the success or failure of the musical work. There is no doubt that the Choral Union might be described—R. O'Dwyer often so described it—as a heartbreaking affair. It *might* have been so good! *might* have done such excellent work! Its performances *were* often, indeed, quite good in a way; but those concerned thought we were very “lucky” in this respect. The labour and energy of the two conductors (for I may put myself in—second to R. O'Dwyer) and of a secretary or two would, indeed, deserve any amount of success; but not so the attendance and interest of the multitude of performers. They would rarely attend practices—not sufficiently, not without disappointments and unpunctualities, and only at the price of infinite wheedlings

and cajoleries. This is, I believe, the case with all Irish musical associations—and that is why there are so very few of them!

As to subscriptions of members, we early despaired of getting anything regular in that way. But a number of decent chaps did always give in their subscriptions. It had been fixed, I think, at five shillings a year for the beginner, ten shillings for the more advanced. You could not turn away a good singer because he had not paid his subscription.

As for subscriptions of patrons whose names were always printed on our programmes, some were generous and constant. All we asked was ten shillings a year, or at least that is my recollection; many gave more. Fr. Delany was always generous; for some years he gave £5, then increased this to £10. Our expenses were considerable. We paid orchestral performers—oboes, horns, etc., star soloists like Esposito or Twelvetreets (but only offered them “a nominal fee” of £3 3s. 0d., never more); we printed nice programmes or books of words, which, with some advertisements, hardly paid for themselves; we gave each year a large “At-Home” with refreshments; we paid (more or less) our conductor; we bought a lot of music—which music, I suppose, is lying in great heaps at University Hall somewhere, accumulating dust; and, while strict economy was practised, our annual expenditure came to something like £60. How we did it all I really never quite saw and do not see yet.

Very early in our career (1899) we attempted a “Charity Concert” in the Antient Concert Rooms,



The object was the Sacred Heart Home; Miss Emily O'Brien and others sold a fair amount of tickets for us; Miss Victoria Delany (now Mrs. Edmond Lupton) was kind enough to play for us; but in other respects the effort was too amateurish. A few pounds profit was made.

We were a unique body in Dublin, because no female voices had any part in our choir. Hence we did much good music that is rarely heard anywhere else. Male glee-clubs are, of course, not uncommon; but male Choral Societies to do things like Mendelssohn's "Antigone," Schumann's "Luck of Edenhall," Gadsby's "Columbus," Bruch's "Lay of the Exiled Norsemen," Gernsheim's "Salamis," and the like, are not common anywhere—outside Germany. We performed all those works. The chief soloists who appeared in them were Messrs. J. P. Wrenn, Evan Cox, Arthur McDonald, and Dr. Joseph O'Farrell. For Mendelssohn's "Hear my Prayer," we employed a boy soloist, but with disastrous results; his pretty voice kept well *flat* from beginning to end! In "Antigone" Miss Marguerite Moriarty recited effectively a passage of the heroine's rôle. It would be too lengthy to recall the very numerous solists who appeared at our various concerts. We may acknowledge, however, the help given to our orchestra by Mr. J. K. Toomey, lawyer, an enthusiastic amateur of the violin, then an octogenarian but still vigorous, by the Rev. W. Butler, S.J., also long departed, by Mr. James Tyrrell, always ready to help in musical good works, and by Mr. Geo. Prescott.

Among others who acted as officers mention must

be made of Mr. Vincent J. Clarke, who frequently attended meetings at the College and was on intimate terms with many of the students. He willingly gave his services to the Choral Union, and frequently wrote up notes about it for the College journals. A. Clery has written that *St. Stephen's* was always at war with the Choral Union. Though this is not to be taken literally, yet it is true that the writers were always poking fun at us, and it was irritating after a serious musical enterprise to find the whole thing treated as a screaming farce. Sometimes, however, there were very good and not unkindly criticisms, and, if they were in some points unfavourable, no doubt we deserved our medicine and it did us good.

Among workers for the Union—secretaries and committee men—one of the first places should be assigned to a non-University member, Mr. Lionel Cranfield, well known in Dublin musical circles, afterwards the secretary of the successful Rathmines Amateur Operatic Society. He helped to get us talent and steady members. A constant, if not quite enthusiastic, supporter was Dick Slattery, now well known as Dr. Richard Slattery. We tried about 1904 the plan of getting a "Ladies' Committee" to work for us, but in spite of the real kindness of two or three friends, such as Mrs. Joseph O'Carroll and Miss Boardman (now in India) this scheme came to nothing.

The help of many non-College and non-University men in the Choral Union was a peculiarity to be accounted for by the very small number of College and University men to be drawn on. The clerics, for example, could not be drawn on—they could not come

to us at night. Our non-College members fully justified themselves by their works.

R. O'Dwyer was always keen on keeping up a full orchestra for our performances. Of course he had his way; but the present writer and some others were decidedly against him in the matter. The orchestra increased enormously three undesirable things—expense, trouble, and the number of non-College performers. Much less “heartbreaking” the whole thing would have been if we had been content with a small piano-orchestra, such as first-class Secondary schools are contented with. Nevertheless, the U.C.C.U. Orchestra did good work and certainly increased very much our prestige.

It figured well in our last performance of all—it was perhaps our best; we fell with honour. It was “Antigone,” in 1909, the year of the composer’s centenary. The stage in the Aula Maxima had been got up more elaborately than usual, though in our traditional fashion—a contraption of boards and benches laid upon a partial foundation of geological specimen cases. We had—beside the usual borrowings—such as Mrs. McWeeney’s floor-lamp—got hold of a bust of Mendelssohn, much prized by the kind lender, Dr. Charles Marchant. It towered, white, over the elegant evening costume of Miss Moriarty, around whom were gathered some forty-five members of the sterner sex. The orchestra on the platform below included two or three ladies. All went well. Mendelssohn’s music to Sophocles’ tragedy is good music, but tails off a bit disappointingly.

A curious episode in the history of the Society was

the clashing of one of its choral nights with a large dinner-party given by Dr. Molloy, who resided in the house as Rector of the Catholic University. The clash had been brought on by the prolonged inadvertence of higher powers. Fortunately there were two hall doors available; so the two sets of guests did not necessarily get mixed. But the anguish to managers was considerable and the choral noises must have disturbed the tranquillity of Dr. Molloy's dinner-party.

So ended the eleven years' career of the U.C.C.U. It was hoped, when the new University College started that a mixed choral union would at once begin to flourish and surpass the doings of the old St. Stephen's Green Society; but that hope was not realized in my time.

G. O'N.

#### 6.—*Impressions of "Chanel."*

As a sequel to our history of the Social Life of the College we append the following extract by a writer<sup>15</sup> who, if anyone, lived that life.

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"It is interesting for us University College men to reflect for once upon ourselves, and see what sort of animals we really are. How far do we correspond with the pictures drawn of us by journalists and educationalists? Are we really the horrible examples of the University Question? Existence in the Catholic University is at present unhappily carried on in an atmosphere of election eggs, missiles that are discharged at us with equal impartiality by friend and

<sup>15</sup> From *St. Stephen's* of December, 1903.

(D 771)

foe. What, then, are we, the unhappy victims who breathe the atmosphere? When I see the estimates that are commonly given of us, it often occurs to me as a pious reflection that even if the attempts of the Government to settle the University Question fail, we could at any rate produce a healthier public opinion by choosing the next suitable occasion on which we are attacked, and (this my dear fellow-students, for your private ear) shooting two or three educationalists and an editor.

“What, then, are the characteristics of our Fellows? The fact which most strikes the stranger about University College is the extraordinary high tone of public and, indeed, private morality which prevails here. I think I have never met men who put the principles of religion in practice more thoroughly. The students there are certainly surprisingly better than the average men of the same age that one meets with in Dublin. Whilst I can say from experience that to go from the society of University College men into the company of the students of a certain other distinguished college is almost like passing from Heaven to its alternative. It is the rarest thing in the world to hear any phrase of an objectionable character used in the assemblage of University College men. There is also a simplicity, a confidence in each other, and an open-heartedness about our men that makes life in the College peculiarly pleasant. How small a place ‘side’ and snobbishness occupies in our system! Most of the men are poor. A few of them have money, yet nobody puts on airs on account of his fortune. Nor is genealogy a very flourishing art amongst us,

"In a large degree, except in the matter of morality, the University College man resembles the 'poor wit' of the Middle Ages. Men flock into the College more loaded with honours (of an Intermediate nature) than emoluments, albeit quite content to strive along gaily through their course. The cleverest men of the country come to the College, and, notwithstanding what one sometimes reads, I venture to maintain that there is really a very high level of intellectuality, and not a little independent thought, among the students. For one thing, there are much more intimate relations between professor and his pupils than in most other collegiate establishments. We often hear our College scoffed as being really a school; the new-fledged matriculator deems it beneath his dignity to be present at anything besides a lecture. Yet the system at present in vogue presents most of the good points of the tutorial system of the more efficient Oxford Colleges. How anybody who has attended classes say, with Mr. Magennis, one of the Fellows who seem to me to carry out most nearly one's idea of a professor, how such a one could accept the comparison with a schoolboy I really cannot understand.

"Again, there is the question of University life amongst us. Is this journal really a record of the dead? Have the virtues of association and the interplay of mind on mind no part in forming the character of the University College man? Does the modern University College student in truth travel alone through his collegiate career? Do we march through our College course in silent meditation, like the Foreign Legion in the poem? O, peace of the

philosophers! O, solitude of the Debating Society! O, silence of the Choral Union! Shadows of the Sodality, the Vincent de Paul Society, the Library Conference, the Football Club, the Handball Tournament, arise before me; subscriptions expended or demanded in vain. If this be true, O, mute registrar, thou hast never pleaded the woman's cause! O, Flynn, thou hast never sung us into nationhood! My reference to secluded lairs must not be pressed home to mean that our students do not associate with each other.

"Such ideas are drawn from a state of things that no longer exists. I remember that in my first year at the College, seven years ago, I only made the acquaintance of two persons. The state of desolation I have outlined above then actually existed. The student of those days was its product. It is this remembrance that gives matter for the frequent and unjust gibes that are hurled against us at the present day. For to say of the College at present that there is no College life and that its students are merely the product of a grinding establishment, is simply to state that which is not.

"I maintain, then, that there is a real life in our College, a life that is not deficient in intellectuality, and that, on the moral side, is far superior to that of other colleges. The students are men of high attainments and upright, generous characters, characters that only fall short in that (as I shall endeavour to show in a subsequent article) they are not composed of the stuff out of which worldly success is wrought. A consideration of the character of our men must console us for many

things. The present students of University College may be the last that shall ever inhabit its walls. Our College may vanish and be remembered only as the bye-world of the educational struggles of the past. We that have passed its portals shall be looked on as coming from a University Nazareth. Yet, among ourselves at any rate, surely the remembrance will not be one to put from us, or to be ashamed of. True friends, joyous hours, and noble characters; is not this more to look back to than massive buildings or splendid endowments?"





## CHAPTER X.

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ATHLETIC HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE.

*Appendix*—Address to Dr. Maurice R. J. Hayes.



## ATHLETIC HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE.

WE have to admit that the social life of the College was not at its strongest on the side of sport. But in no other department can we more clearly trace the steady growth of solidarity and the College spirit than in this. There was indeed the plainest contrast between the earlier years and the later. From fitful and often unsuccessful attempts to form teams or even groups of students for taking a common part in various games—football, rugby, hurling, etc.—we find a progressive movement which led up to the proper organization of the Catholic students of Dublin in the Athletic field. The result was seen when the new University College came into being with its perfect arrangements at Terenure ground, and the splendid and continuous record of success in almost every important form of sport.

Another point we will insist upon here is the solidarity always growing stronger between University College and the Medical School, also leading up to the complete fusion in the new University College. In the following account this co-operation and the stark necessity for it will be made clear to our readers; but we desire to state at the beginning that in giving the Athletic history of the St. Stephen's Green institution it is peculiarly necessary that we must couple with it a fairly full account of the doings of Cecilia Street.

As a rule the two institutions pulled together in these matters, and we must remember the fact that the School was an older and in certain ways a more highly organized institution than the College. It also contained a larger and better personnel to draw upon since the Medical Students on the whole besides being more numerous were probably the older and stronger men, and naturally more prone by their manner of life to physical exercise than many of the votaries of literature, history, philosophy, and language. Among the latter many were evening students who were fully occupied during the day; and of the morning students, probably a larger proportion of the Arts men than of the medicals came from day-schools in towns, where games do not always flourish.

We must also point out that Dublin covers a larger area than most cities of its population, and there was no chance for the Catholic students to acquire in the very centre a sports-ground such as the undergraduates of Trinity have always enjoyed. It was therefore necessary to go a good distance in some direction or other, and always in a direction that must be far from suitable for all. Before the Terenure ground was purchased this difficulty was always felt to press hard even upon the new and comparatively well-endowed College.

The difficulty of a locality was not the only one. It may be a paradox but as a matter of fact the intensity of young Irishmen in their love of manly sports has always added to the difficulty of organizing new athletic clubs. When the need became clear of providing the exercise required by the new non-resident College (and

the same thing was equally true for the School in its earlier phase) the pre-existence of an immense number of clubs added a complication. Many of these local clubs, perhaps with a wide renown, more especially those devoted to Rugby football, eagerly welcomed well-trained athletes coming up from school or even younger boys if they gave promise of success. It often happened that their former schoolfellows who had been absorbed on coming to Dublin were the medium of invitation to a good club—a thing always flattering to a newcomer. And naturally the boys most in request were the very ones who could have taken a leading part in forming or reinvigorating a College team and possibly in leading it to victory. If their classmates urged the claims of the College, yet they might feel it also a duty to stick to the teams which had given them hospitality. Another adverse circumstance which pressed hard upon the Arts Students was not merely the shortness of the Terms, but the opening of the Sessions in October, which period also coincided with the Honours examinations of the autumn. As Soccer clubs started play in October and League Matches were then fixed for the season, it became difficult to organize good teams for the early matches, and so the ardour of our men, not getting any proper outlet, began to evaporate.

Such information as comes to hand does not show that the Catholic University students were never slack in supporting their College in its efforts—but it does show that the slackness gradually diminished in spite of real and solid obstacles which could only be surmounted gradually. It was indeed remarkable that

more than once when things were pretty bad, especially in regard to Football—as we are pathetically told “going from bad to worse,” “as bad if not worse than at any time of our existence”—some heavenly enthusiast appeared upon the scene who with voice and pen goaded his comrades into action. The lower the funds became the slower the subscriptions came in, but here, too, the ‘voice of the charmer’ seems at last to have done its work. Among these wholesome gad-flies, there were at the school: Joe Boyd Barrett, A. N. McLaughlin, and Maurice Hayes; and at the College: Tom Bacon and Dan Hackett; and above all in, regard to the Handball Tournaments, J. F. Byrne, always known (on account of his mystical and Cistercian tendencies) as the White Bishop.

It is pleasant to record that again and again there is evidence of the authorities at both School and College coming to the aid of the struggling clubs morally and financially. Father Delany’s name is mentioned gratefully more than once in the records; as also those of Drs. Birmingham and Coffey, and once with their names are associated those of Surgeons Tobin and Blaney and that of Professor Alfred Smith. We also gather from one significant remark that a good deal of betterment was due to the Dean of Studies at St. Stephen’s Green. In a glowing account of success at Soccer in the “Football Notes” of the *St. Stephen’s* of February 1904, in which we are told “we have *more points in the Senior League [namely nine] than were ever won by a club in their first season*”—the writer adds, “We have therefore every reason to congratulate ourselves and Father Darlington.”

Coming now to somewhat closer details, we shall endeavour, as far as our records permit, to follow chronological order, and while dealing with both sets of students to point out when and how far they were working separately or in mutual association.

In our search for dates and details we have had the advantage of consulting among many others Father Darlington, Dr. Coffey, President of University College, and Professor McLoughlin, Registrar of the Medical Faculty. The last mentioned was himself remarkable as an athlete from his school days, when he was known as High Jump Champion. He first came to the school only in 1889, but even at that date he does not remember any attempt at forming an Athletic or Football Club in Cecilia Street. On the contrary, when he wanted to practise he had to go out by himself to Phoenix Park, often carrying his own apparatus for maintaining his agility.

During this period and for some years earlier than his arrival at Cecilia Street the Professor relates that for an occasional game at Football, groups of students followed the same expedient as himself. Seeing no chance then of having a ground of their own, it could hardly be expected that Medical Students would form a regular club. The Hospitals, however, had their clubs, though chiefly for Rugby. The Cecilian students not merely frequented the two principal Catholic Hospitals, the 'Mater' and 'St. Vincent's' (especially the former); but also the 'Richmond,' just the other side of the river, could generally boast of a fair proportion of Catholic students. In the 'eighties these hospitals all had their teams, but none of them had



their own practice-fields. They commonly had hospitality extended to them by various Dublin clubs. The Bectives, a Rugby team situated near Ballsbridge, were obliging in lending their ground, and the Bohemians, who played Association, did the same with their ground at Phibsborough. The Cecilian teams were hardly organized clubs, but Dr. Coffey himself attempted to found a regular Soccer team, and also fitful efforts were made to get the students together for Rugby. At one time a club called the Cuchullains was formed of First and Second Year men, but they, too, had to satisfy themselves with playing in the Park. A. J. Blayney and Frank Whitaker are among those mentioned as being active about this time; moreover, Dr. Mat. Mitchell, now at Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny, was prominent in efforts for organizing football. Of course it will be understood that many of the best men were engaged by their local clubs besides those at the Hospitals, and as already noted this applies particularly to Rugby players, who, when showing talent, were always well looked after.

Two students, Carroll and McCarthy, started a club by the name of 'Cui Bono,' i.e. C.U.I[reland]<sup>1</sup> which interested itself in Football, but it did not effect much or last for any time.

This state of things, unsatisfactory as it was, continued till the Sandymount ground was acquired, early in the 'nineties, we believe.

Meanwhile the students at St. Stephen's Green fared a good deal better. Fr. Thomas Finlay, when Rector

<sup>1</sup> The name was afterwards adopted by a group of Arts as narrated in our last chapter. See p. 334.

of Belvedere College in the year 1884, was anxious to acquire a playing-field for his own boys, when he got the offer of a fine piece of ground between Milltown Park and a line of railway running parallel to the Palmerston Road. It was actually contiguous to the Jesuit property, and by Father Finlay's persuasion it was purchased by the Irish Province and rented to him for the use of the Belvedere boys. An additional reason for the purchase was the fact that a scheme had been proposed to remove the Novitiate from Milltown Park and to build nearby a College or House of Residence for University Students. The field was on high ground and open, and would have proved an ideal site if the above plan could have been carried out; but it was found impracticable for financial reasons. The new acquisition being more than the Belvedere boys required, a portion of it was sublet to University College in the year 1886. For the south side of Dublin the ground was admirably placed, and it had been put into thorough order at Fr. Finlay's expense. He had run a bicycle track all round the spacious field, tennis grounds were laid out, and a suitable pavilion built. Moreover, a bridge giving access to Palmerston Road was thrown over the Wicklow and Wexford Railway, which skirted the property. Unfortunately, however, the Belvedere boys did not make sufficient use of their opportunity, and after Fr. Finlay had left Belvedere to go to St. Stephen's Green in the year 1885, the ground ceased for several years to be utilized as a sports' field. It was, in fact, let at a good rent to a Dublin salesmaster for purposes of grazing

his stock.<sup>2</sup> During the time this ground was at the disposal of the students of the Green, they scarcely made all the use they might have done of it. But some of them undoubtedly received great benefit, and the footballers fought some matches without, however, entering the League competitions. At this period the association with Cecilia Street was not so strong as it became later, although we learn that at some time in the 'nineties there was a Catholic University Football Association, which fact implies that at least the leaders were anxious for full co-operation. This, however, was now unavoidably broken up owing to the loss of the Milltown Park ground, and it was not till several years later that this was recovered, as we shall relate, by University College.

Meanwhile, the Medical School for the first time in its history rented a ground, namely, a field at Sandymount, between the "Star of the Sea" Church and Ringsend. This belonged to Dr. Nedley of Rutland Square, a man well known as *conteur* and vocalist, who entertained freely and was a special friend and ally of the still more famous Fr. Healy of Bray. Dr. Birmingham, then Registrar, got a lease of the ground for a few years, which was subsequently renewed for a further term. There had been some expectation that Dr. Nedley would make a disposition of the ground in favour of the school; but it was not so, and after the Doctor's death in April 1899, as soon as the lease

<sup>2</sup> It was some years later—namely in 1904, that the Procurator of the Irish Province, being in need of funds, thought himself obliged to dispose of the land to a group of speculators who built over one portion of the field, and presumably made a large profit.

expired, his representatives assigned the field to a rival club probably at a higher rental. The position was a good one and the Medicals were much disappointed at losing it. The new occupants were the Freebooters, an exclusive club consisting entirely of Catholic players educated at English schools, and mainly organized by old boys of Beaumont College. They were more intent upon Cricket than on Football. The McCann brothers, who were all good cricketers, were the chief promoters of the club, which also included some of the Meldon family, also cricketers of note; the O'Reillys of San Souci, Blackrock; Simon Scroope; Morough Ryan of Fitzwilliam Place; Frank Fottrell, and many others. It need hardly be said that a group of these rather 'tony' persons was not intensely popular with the more democratic and Nationalist students of the Catholic University. All the same they played one another at Football; in March 1902 the University College Football Club Second Eleven beat the Freebooters by three goals to one; and in January 1904 the Freebooters gained a victory over University College in a League match.

The Sandymount ground had been resorted to by University College men. There had existed an Athletic Union in which they were included, and one of the unfavourable results of losing the ground was that this Union seems to have been broken up, so that St. Stephen's Green was again isolated.

But in 1901 University College had begun again to move. In February meetings were held and it was definitely decided again to start a Soccer Club. New College colours (black and white) were adopted, and

now the College was fortunate in obtaining once more the use of the Milltown Park field, known also as the Cowper Road ground, from the road crossing the Palmerston Road and leading straight to the bridge over the railway. Father Delany had generously offered to take the financial onus of renting the property anew. Students of Cecilia Street were eligible, as also old Clongownians, some of whom had given donations to the fund. Father Darlington was active in this matter. Tom Bacon, too, was now on the scene, and largely through his energy and talent for organizing, the ground was prepared and everything got ready for action. Within a month the game was set going and the club counted over thirty original members. The season was, however, far advanced by the middle of March.

In the next season, 1901-2, their enthusiasm shot ahead too rapidly and a period of disillusion followed. The new club had begun all right in the Intermediate League, had beaten Trinity College at Cowper Road by five goals to nought, and had nearly won at Clongowes against a team that was trained to play well together by their professional. A Second Eleven under M. Quinlan's captaincy was also doing well. But they were elated and overshot their mark by entering the Senior League, when they lost nine out of ten matches and drew the tenth, with the result of gaining the Wooden Spoon. They lost against the Celtic by seven to three, and no doubt steadily degenerated throughout the season. In one case through luck they got a bye in the first round of the Leinster Cup, but

were put out of action in the second round by Tritonville with five goals to nil.

But in the following season University College began to recover itself from this very saddening but yet salutary experience. Joe Boyd Barrett had now come to the front; and under his captaincy the club entered for the Intermediate and Junior Cup. We are told that he "played a brilliant game and could not be surpassed" and that often he "retrieved the faults of others." D. Hackett, too, in the Second Eleven was becoming "swifter but more erratic," and was chosen for the team that represented Leinster v. Ulster in the Junior Inter-Provincial match.

An interesting account has come down to us of a match played at Athlone on December 14, 1902. This was in the second round of the Junior Cup and the team was elated by a victory gained over Tritonville a few weeks previously. They were determined, it was known, to gain another point, and for this were laughed at by their comrades as a set of harmless lunatics that would soon gain sense. They were met by a large crowd on their arrival and duly escorted to the hotel while the coming match was being shouted by a man with a bell as between the "Best Team in Dublin" and the "Athlone Boys." The crowd at the ground was large and excited, the soldiers from the barracks being well *en évidence*. A great shout went up when the strangers were beaten by a single goal. Later the howling was fearful, and the writer adds the College team felt thankful to the Choral Union for training them to endure it.

In November 1903 a general meeting of the U.C.F.A.

was held in the Aula Maxima, Mr. Felix Hackett presiding. J. B. Barrett referred to Dr. Delany's generosity in acquiring the Cowper Road ground and subscribing towards other expenses. At his suggestion the meeting then elected Dr. Delany as their President. with Fr. Darlington and Drs. Tobin, Brimingham, and Blaney as Vice-Presidents. Boyd Barrett himself was then unanimously elected Captain, J. Tracy, Vice-Captain, T. Quinlan, Hon Treasurer, Dan Hackett, Hon. Secretary, and H. Kirwan, Assistant-Secretary. D. Murnaghan and J. Hynes were put on the Committee, and the Selective Committee was to consist of the two Barretts, Tracy, Hynes, and Murnaghan.

Thus re-organized the club did very well, taking fourth place in the Senior League on five points. Friendlies were played with Clongowes, Castleknock, and Terenure. On the day on which the above meeting took place, in a match at Cowper Road the C.U. team gave Tritonville its first defeat in the Senior League, "showing form which has not been equalled since the establishment of the club. Cummins and Barrett both scored goals; Kelly and Whiteman were good as backs; and Quinlan as half-back; Hynes the most promising of the forwards; but Sheridan and McAlister also showed good form. O'Kelly's form is not praised, and he only put in a single appearance so far ... The club has a larger share of talent than it has had for some time."

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In 1904 there is a record of the "University College Football Club" playing a large number of matches. They beat the Warwickshire Regiment and the

Bohemians; and were defeated by the Freebooters and Shelbourne, both clubs of repute. They also beat Trinity College in a friendly match and went to Clongowes in January. There they beat the boys by a single goal. In the same season, with advice from Fr. George Roche, afterwards Rector of Clongowes, the club much improved its ground by draining, when it was lost, as we have seen, soon after November of the same year.

But in the following year, 1905, a new ground was taken which was thought to be in advance of everything previously held. This was the Croydon Park ground, at Fairview, near Clontarf, a position not far from the modern public park of Clontarf. The ground was rented jointly by the School and College, and was particularly suited for men living on the north side—as a majority of the Catholic Medicals did to be near the Mater Hospital. Though held by the C.U.F.A., it was also open to the use of other clubs, and especially for the Annual Sports, which were held there regularly from 1906 till the foundation of the new College. We are told that this acquisition was largely due to the influential support of the Medical Faculty. In the same year (1905) we hear again of the “Catholic University Football Association,” showing that at this date a complete fusion of the Medicals and Artsmen had again been made. A Second Eleven was also put into the field; and we read that the football club was stronger than ever. There had, however, been a critical period owing to the autumn examinations interfering with sport as they had no right to do! It was supposed, because a team could not be entered in time



for the Senior League, that the club was moribund. The old thing happened—four of its best members were canvassed, including the Captain, Joe Boyd Barrett, who was wanted as centre-forward by the Bohemians for an important match. We read in the journal: "It is pretty certain that if Barrett had accepted our Club would have gone to pieces, and our satisfactory condition is largely due to his sporting action in resisting the attractions of League Football, not to speak of the probability of his obtaining an International Cap in addition." Speaking of International Football, the College was represented for years on the Rugby International team by Tom Little, who was a very popular medical student living in St. Stephen's Green, though not in the College. At an earlier period Tom Crean, who also lived near the College, was an International forward, and his friend Louis Magee captained the team for two years. Both were Clongownians, and if not members of the College were in close touch with it.

We have already said that in later years the Rugby game was not played much by the Catholic students, but that there was from time to time a spasmodic attempt to form a Rugby team. We may here allude to a letter in *Hermes* of a later date (May 1907) in which an appeal on this subject made in "University College Notes" to the following effect. "The Galway Debate is held in Dudley week when the three Queen's Colleges play off for the Dudley Cup.<sup>3</sup> It is inevitable that the question will be raised

<sup>3</sup> A prize for football competition among the Colleges of the Royal University offered by the Earl of Dudley during the period of his Vice-Royalty.

—why have we not a Rugby team? There is plenty of material, but it needs organization. The splendid success of the Association team shows what might be done. We have a number of men playing on various teams in Dublin, and many more who, though formerly keen followers of the Rugby code, gave up the game altogether when they came to town. There is time enough after lectures begin for a team to get together in time to join a competition, since the Rugby season does not commence till October.”

In the Session 1906-7 the College had as representatives on the C.U.F. Committee, Messrs. O'Connell and McGilligan. We read in *Hermes* that the former was very energetic, and had largely extended the roll of membership. The team this year beat Castleknock and Clongowes and drew with the Highlanders. The club got through the season unbeaten save for a return match with Castleknock, and a game against Milltown Park—the teams sent being in both cases weak.

In the following year Trinity had a fixture with our Second Eleven, but failed to put in an appearance. In 1908 the Club was admitted too late in the season to the Second Division, which was regrettable. In February the record up to date was victories over Clongowes, Old Mungret, Irish Times, Botanic, Merion, and Essex II.; they were, however, beaten by Castleknock and Trinity. This would be the last season in which the old College competed.

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It is now time to add something about other games than Football, and indeed we should add, about Gaelic Football. As to the latter, we do not think that the

game ever flourished on a large scale in the Catholic University; but there were, no doubt, some efforts made to introduce it by enthusiastic supporters. But with the Gaelic game of Hurling it was different. It is well known that since the revival of the Irish language and of strictly national customs, Hurling has had a big development all over the country. From the standpoint of the College or the School—taken narrowly—regarding, we mean, success in athletic competitions—the movement to promote Hurling or Gaelic Football did of necessity interfere with the concentration of forces which leads to victory. This view is not put forward in any carping spirit, and indeed its truth as stated could hardly be controverted; while all the facts have to be borne in mind when appraising work done. The success attained by the College students during the whole period under review, in spite of all difficulties, was nothing to be ashamed of.

To give now some details as to the history of the Hurling Club, like Football it went through periods of vicissitude. In the autumn of 1900, in the Medical School a hurling club was started. We read in *St. Stephen's* of June 1901, in an article signed by F. MacDonald, that "Since the breaking-up of the old Athletic Union<sup>4</sup> some time ago, a great want has been felt among the Medical Students of some form of athletics, and the thought suggested itself to some of them that a Hurling Club would be more appropriate than a Rugby or Association Football team, consider-

<sup>4</sup> We presume this refers to the union with University College at the Milltown Park ground.

ing the great interest that many of the students take in the Gaelic Revival. In fact a good many of them are active members of the Gaelic League, and it is quite a common thing to hear the soft, sweet accents of our native language within the halls of Cecilia Street... The first difficulty that presented itself to the Committee was the selection of grounds for practice; we had not funds sufficient to rent a field, so we had to turn our attention to the Phoenix Park. Most students have a decided objection to practise there, chiefly for want of a pavilion. Notwithstanding these difficulties the club has been as successful as we could expect. Practice meetings were held each Saturday, and it was pleasing here to see the members turn out punctually to each practice, and wield the 'camán' with skill that would have done credit to old and experienced players; I may mention that very few of the members had ever an experience of the game before.

"Considering the game from many points of view, it is certainly to be preferred to football, and is not to be put into the same category with such effeminate games as golf, tennis, croquet, or hockey. It may seem to spectators unscientific and dangerous, but those who play know that it is not attended with any more danger than football, and in fact that the percentage of accidents is even less, while the experienced player knows how much practice, manly courage, and self-control it requires to wield the camán skilfully or strike the ball with effect... If it were possible to obtain from Dr. Delany a practice-ground at moderate terms, it would be calculated not merely to keep this

club together, but to bring together the students of University College and Cecilia Street."

The above well-written and moderate panegyric of Hurling has been quoted at some length as showing the attitude taken by a large section of the Catholic students towards the old Irish game.

At the end of the same year, December 1901, it was said that the club was in a flourishing condition, that practices were held each week, and that nearly all the members turned out regularly; but in the following March we read a notice to the effect that the club had ceased to exist, and that this catastrophe had occurred owing to the want of a suitable ground. It seems that there was no effectual attempt to re-start the club until nearly three years later, December 1905, when the Hurlers again got to work. By the following February it was said to be advancing by leaps and bounds, and in March it had already achieved a membership of over fifty. It then claimed to be the "most successful of our clubs both as regards numbers and organization." The Club was at this time admitted to the Junior Sunday League, and won four of its first five matches, beating the Fianna, Newbridge College, and two other teams. On Ash Wednesday of the same year the Mater team gained a splendid and hard-won victory over the Richmond Hospitals.

\* \* \* \* \*

About the same date we read of a College Hockey Club which "sprang into active life in one short week." The club practised on certain days at Croydon Park, and in their first season played quite a number of matches—against the 'Railwaymen,' 'Palmerston,'

and the 'Royal Berkshires,' and the 'College of Science' among others—but not winning more than one or two. They complained that they were not supported, as was the Hurling Club, by the Medical School, although they held out the strong attraction that their subscription was the lowest of all the College Societies!

If there was little Rugby there was still less Cricket. The reason is clear. Besides the fact that the game was never a national sport as it is in England (and with many this last was a reason for leaving it alone) the game was hardly possible on account of the early date of the Summer examinations which commenced quite early in June. The College did not reassemble till autumn, and even then there were again examinations, so that there was practically no room for a Cricket season except during the vacation.

However, as a good many students lived in or near Dublin, there were times when cricket was played by the students, and clubs organized in a very moderate degree. Father Darlington tells of a team which he accompanied to Clongowes College when they played an excellent game with the Boys, who beat them by a small margin. Clongowes also brought a team to play the College Eleven at Milltown Park, when they had lunch provided in Elm Hall, an adjoining property at that time in the hands of the Community, James Gaffney and Michael Hearn were on the home team. The Clongowes men had a deadly bowler, and the University was going down like nine-pins, when Barnes, the Professional, began to umpire; and he

kept giving "no-balls," so that the visitors in the end got a bad beating.

And this is all we have to relate regarding Cricket!

\* \* \* \* \*

The Golden Jubilee Sports organized at Croydon Park Ground in June 1906, by the Catholic University Athletic Union, was a notable event. As it was the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Medical School by Newman in 1856, University College played at most a secondary part in the celebration;<sup>5</sup> yet we think a short account of the Jubilee Meeting will be entirely proper here. Its success was in great part due to the zeal and energy of Dr. Maurice Hayes, an old Mungret boy, who was chairman of the Organizing Committee;<sup>6</sup> with J. Brereton Barry as Hon. Sec. On the field Surgeon Blaney was starter; and the handicapping was arranged by Dr. E. P. McLoughlin, Registrar of the School, assisted by Dr. Hayes and A. N. McLaughlin.

Of the twenty-one competitions held on June 28, three were open events for Public Schools Championship—namely, the 100 yards, the 440 yards, and the Long Jump. In the latter P. J. Cusack distinguished himself by an 'effort' of 22 feet 7½ inches. The Cup for best All-Round Athlete was awarded to W. Hederman, who, like Dr. Hayes, had worked hard to make the meeting a thorough success, and who was also, like him, a powerful advocate for hurling and

<sup>5</sup> In the following year, 1907, the College appears to have been for some reason cut out of the Sports altogether.

<sup>6</sup> We append to this Chapter an address to Dr. Hayes, in which his work for the Jubilee Sports is mentioned.

Irish forms of sport. The Cup was presented to Hederman by Lady Nixon (who also gave the other prizes) at a *Conversazione* held the following evening at the Dublin Mansion House, at which Sir Christopher as Dean of the School, entertained a large and representative gathering. This was June 29, a Holiday of Obligation, on the morning of which a Jubilee High Mass was celebrated in the University Church, St. Stephen's Green, by Archbishop Walsh, the sermon being preached by Dr. Cronin of University College.

The Jubilee celebrations were concluded on Saturday the 30th by a Banquet held at the Dolphin Hotel. Sir Christopher again presided and made a speech which attracted much notice and a certain amount of criticism. The Fry Commission had just been appointed, and we shall show in a later chapter how intense had been the excitement in regard especially to the so-called Dunraven Scheme, by which a Catholic College would be founded as a constituent of Dublin University. Moreover any separate University, such as the Royal, would be dispensed with entirely. Although on this point the opinions of Catholics differed almost violently, Nixon, who had been a prominent Senator of the Royal for nearly twenty years, and was elected Vice-Chancellor later in this year of 1906, argued that all Catholics wanted was some practical form of relief; and stated that if a reorganization of the Royal University were proposed as the "line of least resistance," he for one would be quite content with the solution; Monsignor Molloy,



who was actually Vice-Chancellor,<sup>7</sup> followed in the same sense. Neither the Archbishop nor Dr. Delany, who might be considered as the protagonists of the two opposing schemes, was present at the banquet.

This Golden Jubilee of the School as a commemoration of fifty years successful training of Catholic doctors was not unfittingly referred to by the Press, as a "Spiritual and Intellectual Triumph" of the Catholic cause in Ireland.

\* \* \* \* \*

During the last few years of the old College there was a rage for Boxing among a few enthusiastic Residents and others, led and to some extent trained by O'Connell, then known as 'Ginger.' They formed a club and were allowed to practise at certain times in the Aula Maxima. We cannot give details as to this enterprise, but we hardly think there was anything to record in the way of contests with outside clubs or other special events.

It would not do to close this chapter on Athletics in University College without some account of that truly Homeric annual contest, the Handball Tournament—organized and carried on by the fervour of our most ascetic student, the so-called White Bishop, J. Francis Byrne. Two very fair courts had been bequeathed to University College by the adjoining school of St. Gall, of which the back-garden had been added to that of No. 86 St. Stephen's Green. It was usually at the disposal of the Residents and a few of their special friends, but the authorities had fallen to

<sup>7</sup> We state elsewhere that the lamented death of Dr. Molloy took place in the same year, 1906.

J. F. B's entreaties, and they allowed it to be used for the Annual Tournament. One of the younger Professors had offered a subscription towards the expenses and an appeal was then made for others to do likewise, probably with good results. This was in February 1902; notices were put up at the school as well as the College, names to the number of seventy were enrolled, and other applications came too late, the play being announced to start on March 1. All games were singles of twenty-one aces; there were two teams, one of thirty-four and one of thirty-six competitions, with a limit handicap of eight for the 1st team, so that anyone with a higher handicap than eight must go to the 2nd team.

There was a crowd of spectators for the more important games, and when the finals were coming on the excitement in the College was visibly increasing. In his description of the game J.F. said it showed good but not excellent play, and that all round the left-hand play was weak. He praised O'C. Kelly and Mulcahy, saying that the former took his opponent by storm in the first game, though he was beaten in the second and third. Hogan beat Kenny, but was beaten by Houlihan, who became victor in the 1st team with Hogan as winner of second prize. In the second team Flannery was winner of first prize, beating O'Grady in a closely contested match.

This tournament was so successful, especially in bringing all sections of the College and School together, that some irritation was felt when it became known in the following year that obstacles were put in the way of a repetition of the event. The alley was

required for about a week, and it seems that the Resident students determined to stick up for their rights, and the authorities were inclined to support them. Perhaps during the period of practice for the Tournament the strangers had also tried to monopolize the alley. J. F. B. was not to be done. He promptly applied to the police of Mountjoy Barracks for leave to use their excellent alley which was granted, as the young police liked the idea of entertaining the students and watching their play. [A writer in *St. Stephen's* maliciously hinted that in the future an intimate knowledge of the barracks might prove convenient to their competitors.] The entries were not so numerous as in the previous year, but they were quite sufficient for a good event.

This Tournament is described in an illustrated epic of Hiawathan rhythm by the Cistercian organizer himself which we venture to quote, relating how Meenan and Houlihan were beaten in the semi-finals, and how in the final, after a long contest and an interval, McMahon came out the victor with Mulligan as second. We wish we could reproduce the pictures.

#### HANDBALL TOURNAMENT.

In the days of Shifting Sezurun,  
Early in the Moon of Bright Nights,  
Came the warriors, came the old men,  
Came the Medeakals and Artsmen,  
To the ball-court of the Poleese,  
To the blue-coat braves at Joymount.

There they held their handball tourney,  
Held their annual handball tourney.

Thither came the Meshinauwa,  
With their peace-pipes made of briar-wood,  
And they lit some bad tobacco.  
Lit and smoked some stale tobacco,  
Whilst they gazed upon the ball-players  
Struggling bravely in the ball-court.

'Mongst the foremost, 'mongst the bravest  
Of the warriors in the tourney,  
Were the lofty Meenanhaha,  
And the crafty, fair Hoolanhahan,  
These two fought within the ball-court,  
Fought for hours around the ball-court,  
Fought with vigour unabated,  
Fought with arms fresh vaccinated,  
But in vain, for both were conquered,  
Both went down before the heroes,  
Mulleeganis and Makmahun,  
Who were left to battle fiercely  
For the honour, prize, and glory.

Soon these heroes met and entered  
Into combat fierce and deadly,  
'Midst the shouts of the spectators,  
And the prayers of Yenadizze.  
Twice had each one lost and conquered,  
Twice had each the other beaten,  
When the hero, The Makmahun,

Sickly grew, and still more sickly,  
Till he staggered from the ball-court  
To his friends who gathered round him,  
And he spoke to them in this wise:  
    "Weak and sick I am, my comrades,  
    Sick and weak, I am as Panguk.  
    Much I fear I've got the wigwumps  
    In my inside, for I cannot  
    Play until I rest a little."  
Then we helped him to the fireside  
In the mess-room of the Poleese,  
Where we placed him on the hearthstone,  
Just beside the burnt-out embers,  
And the Medas stood about him  
As he lay in sleep Nepahwin.

Soon a voice outside aroused him,  
Shouting loudly in the ball-court:  
    "Come out now, come out Makmahun,  
    Do not be a Shangodaya."  
Then uprose the hero lightly,  
Rushed out quickly to the alley,  
Knocked down two or three Poleesemen  
In his mad rush onwards, outwards.  
And he clamoured for the handball  
Which he smote left, right, and centre,  
Till he beat fierce Mulleganis,  
Till he won the prize and glory.

J. F. B.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

*Address to Dr. Maurice R. J. Hayes on the  
occasion of his Marriage.*

*June 1906.*

DEAR DR. HAYES,—We the medical faculty, and students, past and present, of the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia Street, desire to take advantage of the present auspicious occasion of your marriage to testify to you our esteem and regard. Both as a student and Assistant Professor we have always found you a loyal friend and an earnest worker.

Your efforts in the introduction of the ancient Irish game of Hurling to our school will always be remembered, and lately your untiring energy helped to make the Golden Jubilee Sports—the first sports ever held in connection with Cecilia Street—the great success they undoubtedly were.

In making this Presentation we wish you and Mrs. Hayes a long and happy life, with the greatest prosperity in the future.—We remain, Yours very sincerely,

Sir Christopher Nixon, Bart.; Anthony Roche, M.R.C.P.I.; John S. McArdle, M.Ch., F.R.C.S.I., F.R.U.I.; Denis J. Coffey, M.A.; Alfred Smyth, M.D., F.R.U.I., F.R.C.S.I.; Martin Dempsey, M.D., F.R.U.I.; Edmund J. McWeeney, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.U.I.; Hugh Ryan, D.Sc., M.A., F.R.U.I.; Edward P. McLoughlin, M.D., F.R.U.I.; Robert P. Farnan, M.D.; Denis J. Farnan, M.B.; George Keating, B.A., M.B.; J. N. Meenan, M.B.; E. Sheridan, L.D.S.I.; J. Burke, L.R.C.P.I.; J. Leonard, L.R.C.P.S.I.; T. Meagher, L.R.C.P.S.I.; M. Kennedy, L.R.C.P.S.I.; J. J. Hogan, L.R.C.S.I.; T. Sheean, L.R.C.S.I.; T. O'Driscoll, L.R.C.S.I.

Alfred N. McLaughlin  
J. Tierney  
L. Moran  
C. McCormack  
J. Nally  
P. Burke

J. Holmes  
P. Keane  
W. Hederman  
T. J. McDonnell  
J. Humphreys  
H. Burke

H. E. Clarke  
V. J. Lawless  
G. Petit  
P. Keelan  
H. J. Grant  
J. Sheridan  
T. Carroll  
W. Doolan  
P. J. Ryan  
W. Frost  
P. Brett  
J. McCormack  
J. O'Reilly  
H. Meade  
B. O'Reilly  
B. Farrell  
P. Foran  
J. Brereton Barry  
G. Browne

J. J. Barry  
P. J. Murray  
W. E. Graham  
E. Flanagan  
P. D. Walsh  
R. Young  
P. S. Ua Gruagain  
M. O'Connor  
P. Holmes  
W. O'Carroll  
C. Sheehan  
E. Dundon  
W. D. O'Kelly  
J. Smyth  
J. Waters  
T. J. Brooke-Kelly  
P. J. Dwyer  
J. O'Boyle

## CHAPTER XI.

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### RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE COLLEGE.

PROFESSOR HENRY BROWNE, M A

1. **Introductory.**
2. **Environment**
3. **Mentality of the Students.**
4. **Foundation of University Sodality.**
5. **Record of the Sodality.**
6. **Society of St. Vincent de Paul.**

***Appendix*—Minute-Book of Library Conference.**





## RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE COLLEGE.

### 1.—*Introductory.*

It might seem to be too harsh a contrast to pass from Athletic history to a discussion about religion among the students. But we think such an idea need not be entertained. What is often remarkable about the Catholicism of Ireland is its manliness, and we hope to show that this rule was well exemplified in University College and in the Medical School. We may point to the names of the late A. Blayney and A. N. M'Laughlin which occurred prominently in our last chapter, both of whom stood out as champions for religion, and took an active part in the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. Other names equally prominent in the athletic field could be cited, but we merely invite those who are conversant with the facts to cast their eye over the lists and judge for themselves whether our statement is well grounded. There is, of course, a difficulty in discussing the religious attitude of students or their professors; because, although we can only describe what was visible, yet in its essence religion first concerns the inner life of a man, and only affects his conduct consequentially.

Nobody expects that a scratch collection of adolescents in a big city, mixing freely with all sorts of men of their own age but of every sort and degree

of faith or of unfaith, will be "vessels of singular devotion," nor are we going to pen a panegyric. Defects there may have been, but starting from a broad view of our subject, we assert without hesitation of the crowd, as a crowd, that its atmosphere was throughout intensely and marvellously Catholic. Nor must we be taken to imply that such a state of affairs is to be regarded as exceptional. Quite on the contrary, we should assume that some such statement would be true normally, if not universally, of any of the schools or colleges of Catholic Ireland. In fact it is a common boast of Irishmen that where you find among the boys and young men a goodly physique and a spirit of sport, there you will also find a *mens sana in corpore sano*. You might find Catholic populations where religious devotion is fostered among boyhood in its earlier days with the full expectation that it will tend to evaporate as contact with the world commences. It is our belief, founded upon long experience, that in the Irishman's soul his deep convictions grow firmer as his knowledge of superficial things is broadened. And at University College what was most admirable with regard to the spirit of religion was that it was not more apparent in the younger men fresh from the healthy influences of country and home life, than in the older generations of students. Moreover, we hope to describe the Catholic influence that permeated the College from the mature professorial staff of laymen, a staff untouched by modern tendencies towards pessimism and infidelity.

*2.—Environment.*

It is necessary here to revert to what has been treated fully in a former chapter, and which our present narrative will confirm, that is the close connection existing between the Arts College and the Medical School. To understand the effects of such contact we must bear in mind that the Medical Students were brought far more into social relationship with non-Catholics than the Arts students, partly in the hospitals, even those under Catholic control; and partly because of the official inter-connection (especially in the case of Conjoint students) with other schools of medicine. And we must add a word as to the effect of this situation upon the moral atmosphere. Before the period of the Royal University, it has been already stated that there was no possibility of reading for a Medical Degree in Dublin outside of the Trinity College walls. The Catholic students having to be content with obtaining the Conjoint licence to practise, the amount of study required from them was not over-exacting. The result was therefore not beneficial, and as a matter of fact, outside of the hours of School and Hospital training, the boys of Cecilia Street had in later years not enjoyed a reputation for assiduous application or very exemplary conduct. Allowing a margin for exaggeration, there is no doubt that a good deal of idleness and larking about had been the inevitable result of the decline of the Catholic University. It is certain that Catholic parents in Dublin found in the disrepute into which Cecilia Street fell for a period,

perhaps sometimes a welcome excuse for sending their sons to Trinity College to be trained as doctors—where at least there was more chance of enforcing discipline than in the comparatively moribund Catholic School. Belgian parents, before the time of Mgr. Mercier, had been known to make a similar complaint about Louvain University, which was under Episcopal control, preferring to send their boys to the non-Catholic (or, we should say, atheistic) State University of Brussels. It is never easy to verify or to refute allegations of this sort, because they often imply the principle of *ex uno disce omnes*.

Canon Sheehan, however, in *Geoffrey Austin* and again in the *Triumph of Failure*<sup>1</sup> gave a lurid picture of Catholic student life in Dublin as it had been lived by his own brother, though it is not unlikely that some of the incidents are overdrawn. However, the students had to fare as best they could in lodgings without any real supervision. There was nominally a Dean of Residence, but how could he effectively control, or know, the whereabouts of crowds of students from all parts of the country? But we are at present dealing with a different phase of the school's history. What is quite certain is that at the period we have to describe a marked change had come over the Catholic Medicals of Dublin. Beginning with the early 'eighties, when the Degrees of the new Royal University were offered to them, they began, at first no doubt in smaller numbers, but soon progressively, to enter for the higher and more academic course, and frequently for Honours. This started a new tradition

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1895 and 1897; but picturing an earlier period.

of study, the whole tenor of student life was gradually transformed; Bohemianism went out of date or was restricted. We have elsewhere described the growing-up of a new and up-to-date class of Professors—young, keen on their work, men of marked ability. What concerns us in our enquiry here is that these men thoroughly realized the necessity, especially in dealing with Irish youths, of relying upon religion as the most potent factor in social life, without which Medical students of all others will be prone to go wrong. Speaking here only of those who have passed away<sup>3</sup>—no one could have doubted that Professors Birmingham, Roche, McWeeney, and their colleague Mr. Fagan, were ardent Catholics, who were able to exercise a strong and healthy influence over their respective classes. Nor would it be too much to say that these laymen were not less concerned about the moral and spiritual welfare of their men than were the priests of St. Stephen's Green with theirs.

We are not forgetting our proper theme, which is the religious spirit existing in University College; but it would have been impossible to follow out our enquiry without making some effort to describe the character and atmosphere of the medical students, into whose company the Arts men were thrown more and more as the College progressed. At our period the 'Medicoes' were indeed being drawn into a wholesome tenor of life both as regards study and recreation, but at the same time they were the inheritors of a tradition of excessive freedom. This intercourse and the exchange of ideas it involved may have had advan-

<sup>3</sup> In a later section we refer to the action and influence at this period of Dr. (now President) Coffey.

tages on both sides. We believe it had, but it certainly had dangers for the more youthful partners.

### *3.—Mentality of the Students.*

Many of our more gifted and promising students, who inevitably influenced the tone of the place, lovable as they were on other grounds, were strikingly so for the depth and simplicity of their religion. They were marked out by a manly devotion to their Church and a strong spirit of reverence to her representatives. Perhaps not always specially devout in a narrow sense—that is a quality altogether different—yet their mind and character was clearly permeated by their faith, by it they were gripped as in a vice, their heart and will, their imagination and intelligence; and that because instinctively they felt it was true. They were conscious, too, of its sacramental power so far as it kept their minds and bodies, and to a wonderful degree their tongues, unsullied. The Faith seemed therefore to be bred, as it were, in the marrow of their bones; they shrank from infidelity or heresy as they shrank from vice, illustrating the saying that purity of heart makes for a vision of the Divine. Personalities come to one's memory of the living and the dead. We ask those who knew men like McGrath and Birmingham and Patrick Dowling among the Seniors, Coyne, Jas. Daly, Gibney, O'Toole, McLaughlin among the Juniors, whether these characters were not as good Catholics as they were truly virile men? Others who survived cannot be named but it strikes one in the face the number of old students of the Green who are to-day among the noblest representatives of

Catholicism in Irish public life. Of course there were exceptions. Some few, very few, were publicly known to have lost the faith, and even in one or two cases to be pronounced atheists—men of talent but not of influence, as they were thought to be and often were intellectual cranks. Others, having lapsed badly in their morals, may have been clouded in their faith as a result; and it must be observed that lapses of faith need not be caused by moral infirmities. Ordinary carelessness in regard to practising religious duties will be taken for granted when we are dealing with large numbers, but it was certainly less common than might have been expected. The boys were not packed in cotton wool, and slackness does not prove irreligion.

But there is another side to the picture." When these young men entered upon their University career in Dublin, they were flung into a new world of ideas and of activities. In their studies, in their private reading, in the serials and daily papers, at every turn in their daily intercourse, they were confronted with often clever presentation of principles entirely subversive of all Christian belief. Everything was questioned, everything discussed. As to modern science, it is frequently taken for granted to be more or less atheistic or monistic in tendency. But among writers upon history, literature, archaeology, art, the evil is quite as widespread, and perhaps more dangerous because put with greater subtlety. Not indeed that in this difficulty Irish students are worse off than others all over the world. Then there was the ferment caused by the nationalist movement, and the Irish literary revival which was notoriously



largely in the hands of non-Catholics, decadent and pessimistic. It is easy for youthful minds to be led away by the glitter of style and the novelty of revolutionary principles.

Now the finer spirits among our Catholic students, whose minds were fully on the alert, so far from yielding to baneful forms of intellectualism, were painfully conscious that they hardly knew how to combat them as they longed to do. The very fact that they had always taken the Christian and Catholic faith for granted, somewhat disqualified them from defending the principles upon which it rested. They had neither been trained nor even encouraged to think of their religion as something that could be questioned. Its mystery they grasped vaguely, but they knew little of the inherent structure, of the logical fibre, of the dogmatic triumph of Catholicity—still less of its hard-won struggles in the past, saving only so far as they had affected the history of their own country.

The causes of this defect in the Catholic mentality of young Irishmen forty or fifty years ago were historical and need not be discussed any further in our pages. What we wish to insist upon here is that the students thoroughly understood that their religious training was defective on the intellectual side; that they had not been in a position to think out its philosophical basis. As one of them complained: "Our religion seems tucked away in a corner of our brains by itself, and has little relation to our thoughts and convictions on all other subjects." Thus a special problem seemed to arise before the eyes of those to whom the spiritual welfare of the men was entrusted.

We must now consider how far the Jesuit Fathers were in a position to deal with the problem. The action and influence of the President and Professors belonging to the Order has appeared in this volume, and will appear under special aspects; but there is one point to which we think attention may now be drawn, and that is a sort of indirect but not slight influence exerted by Jesuit students reading for their Degree. Naturally, when estimating the religious spirit of the College, we refer to the lay students, as it would be impertinent (in both senses of the word) to discuss the spiritual virtues or defects of professed Religious. But it lies beyond doubt that if we may assume that the Scholastic element in the College (and this was, of course, under the circumstances mainly, though not exclusively, Jesuit) was in any sense worth its salt, their mixing freely with the lay-boys in their studies, their College Societies, their debates, and even sometimes their games, gave them an opportunity of toning things up which was denied to the priests. We may be forgiven here if we mention names even of those alive, but not of persons now working for the Order in Ireland. Alfred O'Rahilly, since he left the Province, has done more for it by his pen than any living man. His talents are known to have been of an order that could not leave the minds of his comrades unaffected. Willie Keane, now a Jesuit Father in a College of Sydney, was during his four years' residence at St. Stephen's Green a live wire in all the activities of the students, and at a time of stress and strain had so won the affections of the students that he was able to play a powerful part in their

keeping the peace. Jerry Murphy (now President of a University College in Melbourne) was a popular student who took High Classical Honours but was also very much alive to more modern interests. Dan Finn, since Professor in the State University of Hong Kong, was one of the most brilliant students of the College. These were all Residents at St. Stephen's Green, and there were others whose friendship was sought by the laymen perhaps on account of prowess in the football field, or for less selfish reasons. Speaking of Resident lay students, it will be understood that their number was not large; but they were generally leading men and naturally were in closer touch with the Jesuit Community than the mass of the lay students with whom, of course, they freely associated.

We have spoken of Fr. Darlington's singular position among the Undergraduates of the early days—at a time when he was himself a Scholastic and an Undergraduate—and it is well known how his personal influence continued when he was invested with direct authority. The other Fathers mixed more or less with the students; Father Hogan, with very few; the others, as Fathers Finlay and Egan, generally, though perhaps mainly with groups with which they were more specially connected as Professors; or Father Browne as Director of the Sodality, Father O'Neill with the Choral Union or the Literary Society, and even the President with the Literary and Historical Society.

There was, of course, some definite teaching of religious doctrine. One set of lectures was given by Fr. T. A. Finlay in the Aula Maxima, and for some

years Fr. Peter Finlay gave a separate course simultaneously. The time appointed was after the end of the ordinary classes. Not merely the Residents but all the Catholic students were expected to attend; but it happened sometimes that a number, especially of the non-residents, failed to put in an appearance, getting their friends to answer for them at the roll-call. There was also a Sessional written examination in the subject, with the award of medals or money prizes for which there was considerable competition in the various years among a certain number. For instance, in the year 1902, J. M. O'Sullivan won the first prize of £3 among the students reading for B.A.; W. Lenaghan among those of 2nd Arts; and J. P. Doyle of 1st Arts. There were in addition eight second-class prizes awarded.

As the lectures were given in the Aula Maxima, women students were able to attend these classes after their admission to this part of the College. At a later date, owing to some disorder, the lectures were temporarily suspended. About the year 1905, however, the President was specially asked by the students to restore them which he did, giving them personally, at least for a whole session.

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Up to the year 1894 the Sodality was less prominent than after that date. In all Jesuit Colleges and Schools this has been a feature of some importance. Properly it was intended to promote devotion to the Blessed Virgin and all Christian virtue among students who aimed at special fervour. The idea appealed to Irish

University students, but only provided the standard proposed to members was not something repellent. Anything that savoured of peculiarity or of a spiritual priggishness was distasteful to the majority; whereas an organization that aimed at keeping its members up to the mark of thorough-going good Catholics and nothing more was quite according to their taste as Irishmen. A Sodality of this kind embraced the Residents pretty much as a matter of course. While they were, of course, left perfectly free, the bulk of them felt impelled to follow the moderate exercise of a monthly meeting, to remind them of their religious duties and provide them with an opportunity of fulfilling them. For the non-Residents it was not so obvious. To those who had been educated in Catholic boarding-schools, particularly those of the Jesuits, a Sodality meeting would be familiar, but yet it might appear to involve more piety than they wished to bargain for. Others lived too far from the College to find it easy to attend; or might get tired with the monotony of regular meetings. So that the numbers fluctuated, and though Father Darlington kept it going well for a number of years, and Fr. Richard Clark in his single year of Professorship did something to revive it, yet it was inclined to languish and was not anything of a large College institution.

In the year 1903 Fr. Conmee, who was Dean of Studies, had also charge of the Sodality; but not being very strong, he requested Fr. Henry Browne to relieve him at least for a time, and the latter was appointed in his place.

*4.—Foundation of University Sodality.*

Under the circumstances described above it became evident to many that there was a real need of an organization of Catholic students upon a different footing than the existing Sodality contemplated or at least attained. Father Browne soon learned upon enquiry that such an undertaking with a larger aim in point of numbers, would receive influential support from the lay Professors and other Graduates of the University. There was evidently a widespread feeling among the younger professional men that things wanted toning up, and that some new effort ought to be made to strengthen the Catholic spirit upon its intellectual side. The influence of Trinity College upon Dublin Society was very strong; and since Catholics who needed to qualify for the Bar or for official life, or to obtain a University Degree<sup>4</sup> were more or less constrained to have recourse thither; they had found themselves falling under unfamiliar influences. The result in some cases had been baneful to the last extreme; in other cases the Catholic spirit had been stimulated by opposition. But the effect of a Trinity College career upon the more ordinary Catholic young men was at least to accustom them to keep their faith in the background, and that among companions who were often, to say the least, robust Protestants. This effect, even in the case of those whose personal faith and practice remained unimpeachable, tended to weaken their chivalrous and loyal devotion to their

<sup>4</sup> For some time after the establishment of the Royal University its degrees did not carry the same prestige which they acquired later.

Church. What they intended was to avoid bad form, but they sank into a feeling of inferiority to their surroundings; and sometimes their silence on religious topics—which was partly the effect of ignorance—also helped to increase that feeling.

All this was, of course, deepened by political considerations which do not concern our enquiry; but we may remark that the Catholics who moved in what was called good society (always centred in Trinity College) were also Unionists almost to a man, and sometimes more violently so than some of their Protestant friends. Thus their worldly interests becoming more and more identified with those of non-Catholics had an indirect but deleterious reaction upon their Catholic spirit—especially in the sense that it kept them out of sympathy with the clergy and the Catholic cause as understood externally.<sup>5</sup>

As to the legal profession, the atmosphere of the Four Courts was considered to be detrimental to Catholic ideals: the Doctors were in a somewhat better case, yet as soon as they rose to eminence and mixed more freely in 'good' society, their environment became less favourable to Catholic life, especially

<sup>5</sup> This tendency (though not solely in connection with T.C.D.) is very plainly described in an article which appeared in 1900, in the *New Ireland Review*, from the pen of Rev. Dr. O'Riordan, subsequently Rector of the Irish College in Rome. He wrote (Vol. XI, p. 91) —

"We have passed through a process of de-Catholicization in everything except our Faith and the practice of it. There are notions and expressions common among us which we have unconsciously taken in and entertained as harmless, but which we find on reflection to be un-Catholic—some of them offensively so . . . . We have come to identify Protestantism and University life as ideas which naturally blend, to look upon Catholicism and University life as incompatible . . . . Non-Catholicism is associated in our thoughts with educational superiority and culture."

on the intellectual side. We want therefore to make it clear that there was a real need to try and counteract dangerous influences among the Catholic professional men and students of Dublin; and that the want was loudly-voiced among those laymen, and there were many, who sensed the existing danger. And where was it natural to seek for such activity if not in a new and thriving University College which in its origin, its personnel, its government, and its very object of existence, was to be regarded as a centre and bulwark of Catholic life? It was therefore mooted that some religious organization should be started both on a broad basis as to its composition, and with a standard of religious practice not too difficult for the ordinary busy student, professor, or member of a learned profession, or the civil service. The main object of such a Sodality would be, not so much to exhort Catholic men to fervour, as to deepen their knowledge and reasoned conviction of the truth of the Catholic Faith.

As to the students themselves, it was most important to include the members of the Medical School, both because of the character of their professional studies and of the immense influence they would yield as practitioners, and also because they were further removed from official contact with the clergy than were their compeers at St. Stephen's Green. But in this point there was a difficulty. The bulk of the Medicals lived in the north side in the neighbourhood of the Mater Hospital, and there was already existing a Sodality in the Jesuit Church at Gardiner Street, under the direction of Father James Cullen, S.J.



Though this Sodality was not specifically intended for students, yet Father Cullen was naturally most anxious to attract them, and had succeeded with quite a considerable number. He had applied to Professor Coffey for his support, and the latter, seeing the importance of the matter, had willingly allowed himself to be appointed as President, with, it must be added, very beneficial results. It followed that, although on other grounds the Professor would have gladly given active support to the proposal to found a General Sodality for the students and graduates of both institutions, yet owing to his commitment to the existing Sodality, he was not in a position to do so. Thus there appeared to be danger of a clash with Gardiner Street, and Father Carbery hesitated to accede to Fr. Browne's proposal.

This difficulty was ended by Father Cullen himself, who paid a visit to University College and told Fr. Browne that his own work was not adequate to the needs even of the Medical students of Dublin. He strongly urged, therefore, that a Sodality should be founded on the south side for students and professional men; and promised that his Sodality would work in harmony with it, with the result that, as he said, his own work would be strengthened. Father Carbery had no longer any doubt; it only remained to ask the sanction and blessing of the Archbishop, which was immediately granted, and the movement was set on foot.

Among those interested in the project was the Lord Chief Baron Palles, whose personal influence and popularity in legal circles was equal to his official

position. He was considered one of the best lawyers of these countries, who had rarely if ever had his decisions reversed. As an old Clongownian Palles had been a classmate of Fr. Carbery, with whom he had a life-long and close intimacy. He had graduated at Trinity College, but although he had a filial feeling for it as his Alma Mater, yet he was far too strong a man to have suffered from any of those dangers, religiously or even politically, to which we have referred. What he brought with him from his intimate association with non-Catholic friends, was a deep conviction that Catholics of his own class (including himself explicitly) were in some sense deficient in a penetrating knowledge of their religion on its philosophical and 'apologetic' side. He declared that he had often realized that nothing was more wanting for young Catholics in Dublin than some organization which would keep them together and bring them into closer contact with their Church as well as with one another. When approached by Father Browne in the Hilary Term of 1894, he readily promised to take a personal part in founding a new Sodality at University College. As soon as his consent was generously granted, a circular was widely issued asking Professors, graduates, and students to attend a meeting in the Aula Maxima (on a Sunday morning immediately after the late Mass in the University Church) and to discuss the proposed plan; and stating that the Chief Baron would give an address.

The meeting was a crowded one. It was attended by the Catholic members of the Professoriate of the College (with possibly a few exceptions); a large

number of the Cecilia Street staff; many graduates of the legal and medical professions; and civil servants; and a crowd of undergraduates.

They had come to hear the learned judge; and there is no doubt that they were moved by his speech, which though long was most interesting. He related his own experience in Dublin from his student days onwards, and declared how he had felt the need of more Catholic influence on the intellectual side, and that he believed some effort was needed to counteract the isolation of youthful students and rising professionals in a city dominated by persons and institutions not in sympathy with their faith. After some discussion the Sodality was formally inaugurated, and practically the whole meeting entered their names as original members. This Register was preserved for many years, but has unfortunately been lost, so that we can only add the names of those that can be recalled by living memory. They included among the two Staffs, Professors Thomas Arnold, the two MacWeeneys, Magennis, C. Doyle, Cadic, Bacon, Blaney, Coffey, A. Roche, McArdle, Tobin, Cox, A. Smith, the two Dempseys, McHugh, P. J. Fagan, Messrs. H. McNeill, the two Dowlings, W. J. Carbery, Jas. Gibney, W. F. T. Butler, Jas. Macken. Among graduates and professional men, Jos. McGrath, Jas. D. Daly, P. J. Hogan, A. P. Murphy, Con. Curran, Dr. Frank Dunne, David Dunne, Leonard Dunne, J. P. Kerr, Dan Doyle, John Healy, Jas. A. Coyle, John Peart, Henry Monaghan, P. M. McSweeney. Among the undergraduates were Joseph Nunan, Edward Collins, Henry Cruise, Charles Joyce, Vesey Hague,

J. McSwiney, Thomas Geoghegan, P. Semple, John J. Hackett, Thomas Little, John McDonald, Edwin Lloyd, Neil J. Blaney, Henry Mangan, Thomas Ebrill, I. A. Rice, John Stoer, Harry Seymour, Walter Coppinger, Daniel Rowantree, Harry Clifton, Cornelius Murphy, John Enright, Michael Crowley, J. Sheridan, Denis Kelly, D. J. Farnham.

### *5.—Record of the Sodality.*

As the present writer was the first Director of the Sodality, it behoves him to disclaim more than his proper share in any credit due to its success. The rally made by the Senior men was the decisive factor at the inaugural meeting; and in the following years they constantly maintained their interest in the work. The undergraduates also showed their fervour, but without the splendid lead given by the Professors and Graduates the result could never have been remarkable. After forming a Council consisting of Senior and Junior members, the appointment of a President came into question. Of course the Chief Baron, on account of his age and his numerous engagements, could not be thought of; among the Professors there were several suitable members; but there were reasons why at the start an outsider was preferable. Dr. Joseph McGrath was asked to accept this office, since his zeal for the Catholic cause was a matter of general knowledge. Being a high official in a non-denominational University, he hesitated at hearing of the proposal, and at first suggested that the choice might preferably fall upon someone more officially

connected with University College. But when the Director represented to him that it would be a delicate matter to select one Professor where many were eligible, and that the Sodality though centred in the College would not be confined to its personnel, Dr. McGrath courageously accepted the burden, writing that he considered it an honour to be invited to preside. This action of the Joint-Secretary no doubt gave a fresh impetus to the movement, and it is needless to say that he proved a very assiduous and efficient leader. The appointment of officers was to take place annually.

The meetings of the Sodality would be held monthly, at first on a Saturday evening and later, owing to the football matches, the day was changed to Friday. The proceedings were short, consisting of some devotions, an address always at first by the Director, followed by a short Benediction. The Vespers of Our Lady were usually sung, and after the meeting a good number of the students remained to practise the Gregorian Tones and the Hymn. Most of them had been unaccustomed to congregational singing, but many students still remember how keenly this unaccustomed devotion was taken up, and how it became, to the general surprise, quite a popular feature of the meetings.

The Sodality Mass on the following Sunday was not as largely attended as the evening meeting. The Residents and others living near the College, Seniors and Juniors, came, but most members at a distance preferred to go to Communion at their parish churches. It was, however, desirable to get them to go together, and it was thought that if the services

were held in the Catholic University Church, built by Newman for similar functions, the arrangement would have proved to be a strong attraction. The Sodality chapel, which seated something over a hundred, had been found hardly large enough on special occasions, and had often been overcrowded at the evening meetings. The matter was discussed, and in the first instance was brought before Canon Conlan, P.P., who at the time had charge of the Church. He told Fr. Browne that if some accommodation could be made by the higher authorities he would be agreeable thereto; but some misunderstanding followed; and the project fell through, causing for a time some feeling of soreness in the Sodality.

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Much information about the history of the Sodality is to be found in the pages of *St. Stephen's* for the first six years of this century. In the December number of 1901, we are told that over one hundred had attended at the inaugural meeting of that session held on November 9th, and that this was an increase on the record of former years. It is stated also that there were about seventy or eighty *Senior* members on the lists. There was generally some falling off in the evening meetings towards the summer, but we take it this is the usual experience of similar societies.

About this date a change was made in the constitution of the Council, which was as before to consist of fifteen members, but on a more democratic basis. Hitherto the *Senior* members had predominated, and there was a widespread feeling that this was inadvisable. In future seven *Juniors* were to be elected by

the whole Sodality, who together with five ex-officio members were to co-opt five additional members. Thus the control of the Council would be more directly under the members. At a still later date (if we remember aright) the First and Second Year Artsmen and the First Medicals severally chose two members of their own class. This was to secure a complete and all-round representation. There was a good deal of interest in these elections.

It was at this time the custom to invite special preachers to give the monthly address. Among these were the President, Farther Darlington, Fr. Robert Kane, and Father Henry Fegan. The Annual Retreat was never given by the Director, but always by a Jesuit Father. Among those invited from outside the College were Frs. Conmee, Patrick Keating, Hayden, Cullen, Peter Finlay, Bernard Vaughan, Fottrell, Robert Kane, John Gwynn. The Retreat was always during Holy Week or Passion Week, in preparation for Easter, and it consisted of two meetings daily—one after Lectures about midday, and one in the evening. The Chapel was always crowded, and on Easter Sunday morning a large General Communion followed.

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As our readers may remember, at the beginning of the new century, i.e. in 1901, Pope Leo XIII ordered the Consecration of Mankind to the Sacred Heart. The devotion was to be carried out all over the Catholic Church in connection with a Triduum of devotion preceding the Feast. The ceremonies arranged for the Sodality were well attended by the

members in their Chapel, concluding with a General Communion on the Feast-day. The Jubilee Indulgence of the same year required visits to four parish churches, and these were made in common by the Sodalists starting from the College on four Sunday afternoons in the Summer Term of 1901. An extra visit was added to enable those who had missed a Sunday to complete their number. They did not walk strictly in procession, as the parochial Sodalities usually did, but irregularly, which sometimes caused a momentary confusion as to the direction of the march. It is recorded that the attendances at meetings during the Session had been largely in excess of previous years and that the Medicals had been largely to the front.

A word must be said about the Annual Conversaciones held in the Aula Maxima, which were admittedly about this period the most popular of all the College functions. They were attended by men only, as women students were not as yet included upon the College roll. The President, elected annually, received the guests, among whom was generally the President of the College with the Jesuit Professors. Interesting exhibits were provided by the Medical Faculty, among whom Dr. E. J. MacWeeney showed high-power microscopes for giving demonstrations in bacteriology. On one occasion Dr. Birmingham, Medical Registrar, as President, himself gave a short account of his travels about the Norwegian fiords, with photographic views; another time Louis Meldon gave proof of his own proficiency in taking snapshots of men diving. There was music



and recitation, including an extraordinary imitation of Chevalier by George Nesbitt, and a son of Surgeon Hayes gave his version of "Here's a health to you, Tommy Atkins." Bailey Butler, Arthur Barry, and other Sodalists dressed as professional cooks, served refreshments; smoking was allowed, and a pleasant opportunity was given to young and old for meeting friends or introducing new ones.

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In spite of the regrettable loss of the Register, we have succeeded in compiling a fairly complete list of the Sodality Presidents, with a certain number of the Assistants, as follows:—

	President	Assistants
1894- 5	Dr. Joseph M'Grath	(Prof. H. M'Weeney (Joseph Nunan
1895- 6	Prof. Birmingham	
1896- 7	Prof. Ant. Roche	James Gibney
1897- 8	?Prof. Charles Doyle	
1898- 9	Prof. Blaney	
1899-00	Patrick Dowling	(Dr. Frank Dunne (Pierce Kent
1900-01	?Dr. Frank Dunne	?Dr. Herbert Mooney
1901- 2	Dr. Herbert Mooney	Dr. Frank Dunne
1902- 3	Prof. Coyne	(J. J. MacDonald (Arthur Clery
1903- 4	J. J. MacDonald	
1904- 5	Prof. Semple	
1905- 6	Prof. Hackett	(Prof. Semple (J. Bailey Butler
1906- 7	?	
1907- 8	T. Quinlan	(J. Bailey Butler (M. McGilligan

The successful working of the Sodality depended very much upon the Hon. Secretaries, and it is a pleasure to record some of their names. Almost, we

think, at the start this office was held by Leonard Dunne, a son of the Secretary. He died at an early age, and was succeeded by Jack McSwiney, a Resident Student who was extremely devoted and efficient. He was followed in 1899 by Peter Byrne only for a single year. Tom Bacon also held the office. James Gibney was at one time Hon. Secretary and another time Hon. Treasurer. Among the Medical Secretaries we should mention Dr. Joseph Frengley, Arthur Barry, A. N. McLaughlin, and Sarsfield Kerrigan.

In the last year of the College we read in *Hermes* that Messrs. Ronayne and Sheridan were Hon. Secretaries and the Committee consisted of Professor Semple, Messrs. Doolin, Kerrigan, Healy, O'Connor, Barrett, and O'Sullivan.

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When the Sodality had been working for its first decade, that is in 1904, it was arranged to hold a Decennial Celebration and to invite His Grace Dr. Walsh to come and offer the Sodality Mass and give Communion to the members. The Archbishop was good enough to accept the invitation, and on the Feast of Candlemas, February 2, the function was held, the crowd of students and others being so great that the chapel was unable to contain it and many were kneeling outside the open door. The Archbishop was then entertained by the Sodality with the Community at breakfast in the Aula Maxima, when he spoke in commendation of the good work.<sup>6</sup>

A few years earlier the Council had determined,

<sup>6</sup> The breakfast was kindly prepared by the help of Mrs. Jury, of Jury's Hotel.

with the sanction of the authorities, to invite the Students to maintain Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the Sodality Chapel, during the Sunday just preceding the sessional examinations. The idea was taken up keenly, especially by the candidates for medical tests, and after the first year the rumour spread around that some rather hard cases openly attributed their success in passing to taking part in this (for them) unusual devotion. Consequently the Medicals found themselves volunteering for the job. They all agreed to watch in gown and cotta, a Medical with an Artsman, each for the space of twenty minutes; thus requiring six for every hour. The watching commenced after the Sodality Mass at 8.30 a.m., at which the Choral Union gave musical assistance, and continued for about eleven hours until a Solemn Te Deum and Benediction at 8 p.m. From the year 1902, separate stewards were appointed on each side to take the names of volunteers and to see that they came severally in their proper order. The number of stewards was also increased, and they undertook to come in pairs for two hours each, during which period they were responsible for their own list. They were directed not to put down their own names; but in case of any of their men defaulting they had to take his place so that no gap could occur in the dual adoration. This system worked admirably. The stewards were kept fairly busy, and between whiles they could entertain each other in the classroom opposite the chapel, where leave for smoking was granted. This custom was carried on till the trans-

ference of the College in 1909, and was subsequently resumed in University Hall, where it still continues.

We shall here add something regarding the later years of the Sodality. Father Browne, thinking that the original fervour of the Sodalists showed signs of waning, and that the appointment of a new Director might put fresh life into the organization, requested to be relieved of his office; and in November 1905 Father Henry Fegan came to the College and took up the work. Since his own school days at Clongowes, where he was Captain of the House, his zeal and extraordinary power over boys and young men was a matter of notoriety, and we read in *St. Stephen's* that among the students developments were expected "we might say of a sensational character but think it wiser not" in regard to the Sodality. "We do not wish like King Saul to be found among the prophets, we merely ground our expectations on previous history."

Fr. Fegan, however, was only allowed to remain a single year and was succeeded by Fr. George O'Neill;<sup>7</sup> and later by Father John Gwynn. Regarding the success of the latter, we read: "The meetings of the Sodality under Fr. Gwynn have been largely attended." In these later years the controversies and excitement caused by the coming changes rendered the carrying on of the Sodality more arduous than it had been in the days of its establishment and growth. Still the work continued, and must have been fruitful, especially

<sup>7</sup> During Father O'Neill's régime, the Golden Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception, as defined by Pope Pius IX, was celebrated by the Sodality. A Tridium was held, and one of the sermons was preached by Father M. Browne, S.J.

as we know that the Annual Adoration was not suspended.

There is yet another activity of the Sodality to relate, and one that proved to be very useful. These were the Library Conferences, which were first started by Mr. W. P. Coyne in May 1901. He was Chairman of the Library Committee which was started at his initiative, and the Conferences were originally intended merely to promote the use of the books by Sodalists. Nothing could show better the progress made by the Sodality than these excellent papers on all sorts of subjects. We shall print at the end of this chapter the minutes of the Committee, which were carefully taken down and kept by Dr. Sarsfield Kerrigan, who has kindly put them at our disposal.<sup>8</sup>

#### 6.—*Society of St. Vincent de Paul.*

This Society was quite the strongest organization of Catholic laymen in Dublin, and was greatly prized by the Archbishop and his clergy. They had long desired that it should establish a connection with University College, because about the end of the last century the younger men in the parishes were not coming forward as well as they had in previous periods, and an impression was gaining ground that the Society was something antiquated and fit only for those irreverently styled 'old fogeys'—a very erroneous notion indeed.

The first attempt to meet this demand was one made about the end of 1901 by the Sodality at a

<sup>8</sup> By Dr. Coffey's express wish the book will be henceforth preserved in the archives of the existing University College, Dublin.

time when it was most flourishing, under the leadership of W. P. Coyne, then Professor of Political Economy. This attempt, though it never reached maturity, must be related here.

The idea was to found a College Institute for the benefit of Catholic working boys in Dublin. There was at the time no organized work of the kind except the Catholic Boys' Home in Middle Abbey Street, but this was for the housing and feeding of waifs and strays, whereas the projected Institute would have been intended for youths of respectable position who did not require material relief, but formation of mind and character. It was, moreover, hoped that a class of young men could be trained who would in their turn devote their time and energy to other boys less favoured than themselves. The matter was brought before some of the leaders of St. Vincent de Paul including the President of the Society, who pointed out that their scope included institutions for Catholic boys and young men known as 'Patronages.' A promise of support to the scheme was given with the hope of financial assistance, which would be required.

A Committee of the Sodality was then formed at Professor Coyne's instigation under the Fr. Director's chairmanship. Several institutions in Dublin were visited including the Boys' Home already mentioned, the Technical Schools in Kevin Street, and the Working Boys' (Protestant) Institute in Lord Edward Street. There were to be five distinct sections of the proposed Institute—Instructional (for their several avocations), Athletic, Literary, Recreational, and a branch for Swedish Drill which was then attracting

much attention in Dublin.<sup>9</sup> Joseph Frengley (not yet qualified as Doctor) made himself responsible for the Football and other similar activities; Mr. Coyne would take the Literary side; John McDonald was going to look after the indoor recreation. We forget about the Swedish Drill, but we rather think that Tom Ebrill and Jack McSwiney were engaged as leaders. There was to be a lending library for the boys. Among those interested were James Daly, Hugh Kennedy, A. Clery, and H. Seymour.

The Committee came to an understanding not to put forward religious observance as a strict condition for membership. Whether rightly or wrongly, we thought that, with a rather mature class of fellow, personal influence would be more effectual than fixed rules. This would be rather different from the ordinary practice of the St. Vincent de Paul 'Patronage.' The point might possibly have caused difficulty, but as a matter of fact the obstacle which squashed the scheme was of a different nature. On the Superior Council of St. Vincent de Paul there were some who objected to it on the ground that it would draw away the younger men for whom they were looking in the Parish Conferences. This view did not appear to be broadminded, considering the large numbers of young men of the professional class; but it prevailed so far that when it was pressed upon the Archbishop he refused to sanction the scheme except under conditions that were impossible. The conditions were that the Institute workers should be limited to *actual* students

<sup>9</sup> This included a species of carpentry on hygienic lines with benches specially designed.

of University College or its Staff, an arrangement which would have ruled out not merely the outside Professional men who belonged to the Sodality, but also the Medical School and the College of Science. As these were required for practical reasons, and as to exclude them would split up the Sodality and endanger its utility, the scheme had to be regretfully abandoned.

Some time later, however, a University Conference upon ordinary lines was formed with the active assistance of Father Darlington. The inaugural meeting was held in the Aula Maxima in March 1903. A notice was put up in the entrance hall at St. Stephen's Green to the effect that a portion of Westland Row Parish had been allotted to the Conference by the Archbishop; and after a year's time, in 1904, a free Labour Bureau was established by the Conference, "to provide a registry office for poor labourers known to members of the Bureau." It was not intended for craftsmen, who are members of their unions, but for the class of more casual workers who at that date possessed no organization to look after their interests. Professor Semple was President of this particular work, with Mr. S. P. Kerrigan as Hon. Sec. There was also a Council consisting of Richard Slattery, R. J. Boyd, T. Quinlan, and J. O'Mahony.

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We have finished our notes upon the religious side of the College life, and it seems to the writer that three conclusions strongly emerge from our study. First that there was a strong and healthy Catholic spirit among the Staff and students. Secondly, that



this was marked by the progressive spirit which can be seen all through the history we are telling. Thirdly, this spirit and its progress depended upon the association with the Medical School, which it also benefited.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XI.

### *Transcript of the Minute Book of Library Conference.*

I.—1901.—The first meeting of the Library Committee was held on Thursday, March 28, Mr. Coyne in the Chair. *Present:* Fr. Browne, Fr. O'Neill, Messrs. McDonald, Clery, Kennedy, Kinahan, Murnaghan, O'Sullivan, and Hackett. It was decided to send out circulars giving a list of books required. It was also decided to hold conferences at which members of Sodality could discuss matters connected with Catholicity and Catholic Literature. The following works were recommended to be bought immediately: Fouard's *Life of Christ*; Hettinger, *Dante*, Leahy's translation of Olivier on *The Passion*; *Catholic Dictionary* (Addis and Arnold); Works of "The Prig"; Encyclicals of the Pope; Milner, *End of Controversy*. The following books were presented at the meeting:—Mr. Coyne: *Monks of the West*, and Pastor, *History of the Popes*; Mr. McDonald: *Contemporary Superstition*, Mallock; Mr. Kinahan: Wiseman's *Fabiola*; Mr. Clery: Bousset's *Oraisons*.—William P. Coyne. 12/5/01.

II.—1901.—The second Meeting was held on Sunday, 21st April. Mr. Coyne in the Chair. *Present:* Fr. Browne, Fr. O'Neill, Messrs. Kennedy, O'Sullivan, and Hackett.

The first conference was fixed for 12th May, at which Mr. Coyne was to read a paper. It was decided not to send out circulars until after the Summer Vacation. It was decided to buy the following works: *Catholic Missions*; *Reformation*, Cobbett; *Religio Viatoris*, Manning; *Protestant Journalism*; *Church and Age*, Fr. Hecker; Fr. Gerard's Works; *Confessions of St. Augustine*; *Life of Pope Leo XIII*, Justin McCarthy.

—William P. Coyne.

III.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, May 12. Mr. Coyne in the Chair. The minutes of the two previous meetings were read and signed. Mr. Coyne then read his paper on "Mallock."

In the course of his address he mentioned he was presenting the following books to the Library: Mallock's *Atheism and Value of Life*; *Social Equality, Is Life Worth Living?*; Mivart *On Contemporary Evolution*. Mr. Kennedy proposed and Mr. Clery seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Coyne for the books he presented to the Library. It was decided smoking should be allowed at succeeding conferences. The next conference was fixed for Sunday, May 26, at which Dr. Mooney consented to deliver an address. The Committee decided to get the following works: *Life of Manning*, De Pressensé; *Indifferentism*, McLaughlin; *Pope Leo XIII*, Justin McCarthy; *Edward VI, Supreme Head*, Lee.—A. W. Conway.

IV.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, May 26, Mr. Conway in the Chair. A resolution was passed that the Librarian should in future give a report of the progress of the Library since the last meeting. The Chairman then called on Dr. Mooney to read his paper on "Pasteur." After the discussion of the paper, a vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Mooney, and the date of next Conference fixed for June 16, at which Mr. Clery was invited to deliver an address.—Henry Browne, S.J., June 16.

V.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, June 16. Fr. Browne in the Chair. Mr. Clery was called upon by the Chairman to read his paper on *My New Curate*. In the discussion which followed, Fr. Darlington, Fr. Gwynne, Fr. O'Neill, Messrs. Conway, Clery, Byrne, Joyce, McGarry took part. It was unanimously agreed to begin punctually at 8 o'clock. A proposal to limit the time of discussion was postponed for further consideration until the next meeting. Mr. Conway consented to deliver the address at the next meeting.—William P. Coyne, 3/11/01.

VI.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, Nov. 3. Mr. Coyne in the Chair. The minutes being read and signed, Mr. McDonald was called upon to read his paper on "The Catholic Layman," which was followed by an interesting discussion. In this, Fr. Browne, Fr. Darlington, Messrs. Boyd, Collins, Clery, McDonald, Walsh, and Dr. Kerr took part.—A. W. Conway.

VII.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, Nov. 17. Mr. Conway in the Chair. After the minutes were read and signed, the Chairman proceeded to read his paper on "Student Life in Dublin." An interesting discussion followed, in which Fr. Browne, Fr. Darlington, Messrs. Clery, Kennedy, O'Sullivan, Ryan, and Murnaghan took part. The Chairman presented the following works to the Library: *Geoffrey Austin, Triumph of Failure*. Fr. Browne announced the impending changes in the Sodality and that a General Meeting would be held on Sunday, December 1. The meeting then adjourned. —William P. Coyne, 1/12/01.

VIII.—1901.—A Library Conference was held on Sunday, Dec. 1. Mr. Coyne in the Chair. The minutes being read and signed, the Chairman called on Mr. Hackett to read his paper on "A Great Catholic Layman." In the discussion which followed, Fr. Browne, Fr. O'Neill, Fr. Ghezzi, Messrs. Conway, Semple, Clery, Kennedy, Kenny, O'Sullivan, Ryan, McDonald, Murnaghan, Doyle, O'Flynn took part. Mr. Hackett presented to the Library: *Letters to a School-fellow*, Montalembert; and the Prefect of the Sodality, Dr. Mooney, *Irish Schools and Scholars*, by Dr. Healy. —William P. Coyne, 15/12/01.

IX.—1901.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, December 15. After the minutes were read and signed the Chairman announced that Fr. Browne would now proceed to give his Lantern Lecture on "St. Columcille." An interesting discussion followed in which Fr. Hogan, Messrs. P. J. O'Reilly, Clery, Kennedy, and others took part. The Chairman announced that a list of names of members shall be laid before the next meeting. Any person whose name is not on this list and who has been present at any Conference before Dec. 1, should hand in his name before January 31. After this date every one who wishes to become a member must be balloted for in the ordinary way.—J. Darlington.

X.—1902.—A Library Conference was held on January 19. Father Darlington in the Chair. The minutes being read and signed, the Chairman called

on J. M. Murnaghan to read his paper on *Luke Delmege*. In the succeeding discussion which followed, Fr. Browne, Messrs. Clery, Hackett, Skeffington, Byrne took part. A proposal to make everyone take a more active part in the Conference was discussed. Mr. J. F. Byrne was asked to read the paper at the next Conference.—Frank J. Dunne, Chairman, 2/2/02.

XI.—1902.—A Library Conference was held on February 2, Dr. Dunne in the Chair. The minutes being read and signed, Mr. J. F. Byrne was called on to read his paper on *The Imitation of Christ*. After the paper, Fr. Browne, Fr. Darlington, Fr. O'Neill, Messrs. Skeffington, Joyce, Clery, Murnaghan took part. The Chairman announced Dr. Coffey would read the paper at the next meeting on "Evolution."—W. Magennis, February 1902.

XII.—1902.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on February 16. Mr. Magennis in the Chair. Dr. Coffey delivered an address on "Evolution." After a short discussion it was decided to adjourn the meeting to March 2.—William P. Coyne, 2/3/02.

XIII.—1902.—The adjourned meeting to discuss Dr. Coffey's paper on "Evolution" was held on March 2. Mr. Coyne in the Chair. At the Chairman's request, Dr. Coffey summed up his views on Evolution. The discussion was carried on by Fr. Browne, Drs. Blayney, McWalter, Messrs. Jeffrey, White, Meyrick, O'Sullivan, Clery, and Byrne. At the conclusion of the meeting Mr. Coyne announced that the Rev. Dr. Sheehan would deliver the address at the Library Conference on April 20th.—William Delany, S.J., April 20, 1902.

XIV.—1902.—A meeting was held on Sunday, April 20. Rev. Dr. Delany in the Chair. After the minutes were read and signed, the Chairman called on Dr. Sheehan to read his paper on "Some Aspects of Character." Mr. Coyne proposed a vote of thanks which was seconded by Mr. Clery. The motion was carried unanimously, and the meeting concluded.—J. Darlington.

XV.—1902.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, May 11, Fr. Darlington in the Chair. Mr. O'Sullivan was called on for his paper on *The Present Position of Catholics*, by Newman. After a brisk discussion of the paper by Messrs. Walsh, Doyle, Clery, Murnaghan, and others, the Chairman announced Fr. Cullen would deliver the address at the next meeting on Sunday, June 1.—R. F. Tobin,

XVI.—1902.—At the meeting of the Library Conference held on Sunday, June 1, Surgeon Tobin presided. After the minutes were read, letters were read from Dr. Birmingham and W. P. Coyne, apologising for their absence. Fr. Cullen delivered his address on "Temperance Reform." Surgeon Tobin, speaking on Temperance, gave a short account of the change in popular feeling on this subject of late years. After a lengthy discussion of the matter, the following resolution was proposed by Mr. O'Sullivan, seconded by Mr. Clarke, and passed unanimously: "That a Society be formed consisting of those who are actually total abstainers and that these meet at some future date and carefully consider among themselves whether or not it is advisable to take a pledge for life and that those who wish to join the Society hand in their names to Mr. Murnaghan as Hon. Sec. and that the list be now opened."—Alexander Blayney, 16th November, 1902.

XVII.—1902.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on 16th November, 1902. Surgeon Blayney in the Chair. Fr. Finlay delivered a short address on "The Economic Side of the Temperance Question." In the discussion which followed, Messrs. O'Sullivan, Hackett, Welpley, Kennedy took part.—A. W. Conway, March 1, 1903.

XVIII.—1903.—At a meeting of the Library Conference held on Sunday, March 1, 1903, Mr. Conway was moved to the Chair. After the minutes of last meeting were read and signed, Mr. Murnaghan read a paper on *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, in which, while delivering an interesting sketch of the life of the famous saint, he cited passages of extreme beauty from the *Confessions* in disproof of the common assertion

that St. Augustine was averse to the study of polite Literature. Father Browne, Father Darlington, and Messrs. Conway, Clery, Hackett, Kennedy, Seymour, Byrne, O'Sullivan took part in the subsequent discussion. Mr. Hackett proposed and Father Browne seconded that Father Maher, S.J., be requested to give a Conference on Mallock's *Science and Religion* on Sunday, March 29. Fr. Browne further proposed that Mr. Hugh Kennedy should read a paper on *The Church and the Age* at a Conference to be held on Sunday, 15th March.—Arthur O'Clery, 15th March, 1903.

XIX.—1903.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, 15th March, Mr. Clery in the Chair. After the minutes were read and signed, Mr. Hugh Kennedy, B.A., B.L., gave a paper on Hecker's *Church and the Age*. An interesting discussion of the subject followed in which Father Browne, Father Darlington, Father O'Neill, and Messrs. Clery, O'Sullivan, Kennedy, Hackett, Byrne, and others took part.—M. Drummond, March 29, 1903.

XX.—1903.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, March 29. Mr. Drummond, K.C., took the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed, and Mr. A. E. Clery, LL.B., proceeded to read his paper on the "Report of the University Commission." An exceedingly keen interest in the subject was shown in the discussion that followed in which Messrs. Skeffington, McLaughlin, Clery, Hackett, Byrne, Whyte, and Fathers Darlington and Browne took part. At the close of the meeting, Mr. Drummond addressed those present, and Father Browne rose to move a vote of thanks for Mr. Drummond's kindness in presiding which was heartily responded to by all.—H. Browne, S.J., May 3, 1903.

XXI.—1903.—At the meeting of the Library Conference held on Sunday, May 1, Father Browne, S.J., presided. The minutes of the previous meeting were read, and Mr. O'Sullivan, B.A., was requested to read his paper on "The Dhama of Gotama the Buddha." After an able exposition of Buddha's life and doctrine was set forth in the paper, a discussion followed in which Messrs. Welply, Butler, Doyle, Hackett, and

others took part. Father Browne at the conclusion suggested, since there were present sufficient to form a quorum, the advisability of continuing the Conferences until the end of the Session. The proposal was carried unanimously, and on the promise of a paper from Mr. Hackett to be read a fortnight hence, the meeting concluded.—J. Darlington, 18th May, 1903.

XXII.—1903.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, May 17. Father Darlington presided. Mr. Hackett was requested to read his paper on "The Pope and the Age" in which he delivered a concise and interesting resumé of the papal policy of His Holiness Leo XIII, as shown in his Encyclicals. In the succeeding discussion Messrs. Hackett, Clery, Welply, Boyd, Byrne, and Fathers Browne and O'Neill and others took part. After the debate had concluded, it was resolved to defer the next conference until the next Session, and on a proposal of a vote of thanks to Mr. Hackett for his paper the meeting terminated.—J. M. O'Sullivan, 22<sup>nd</sup>/11/09.

XXIII.—Session 1903-1904.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on November 22. Mr. O'Sullivan was in the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting were read and signed, and Mr. Murnaghan was called for his paper on "John William Walsh." Mr. Murnaghan embodied in his criticism of the book typical portions of the work which, combined with Mr. Murnaghan's resumé gave to the audience an interesting and informative account of the biography. A discussion followed on the relations of faith to morality and conduct, a point suggested by a character on the book, in which Messrs. Magennis, Clery, Murnaghan, O'Sullivan, Welply, and Hackett, with Frs. Browne, Egan, and Darlington took part.—C. Gatti.

XXIV.—Session 1904-1905.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, December 7. Mr. Gatti was in the Chair. Mr. T. M. Kettle was called upon to read his paper on "Art for Art's Sake," and on the conclusion of the paper a discussion followed on the relation of Art and Religion in which Fathers O'Neill, Darlington, Egan, and Messrs. Magennis, Gatti, Hackett, Clery, Curran, Kennedy, took part.



After the discussion the Chairman spoke some words in appreciation of Kettle's paper, and after a proposal of thanks to Mr. Kettle for his paper had been carried, and the arrangement being made that Mr. Hackett would read a paper on the next meeting of the Conference, the meeting concluded.—H. Fegan.

XXV.—1905.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, January 29. Rev. Father Egan, S.J., in the Chair. After the minutes had been read and signed, the Chairman called on Mr. Hackett to read his paper on *The Old Riddle and the Newest Answer*, the subject of which was Father Gerard's criticism of Haeckel. A discussion then followed, in which Messrs. Kettle, Curran, Clery, Fathers Darlington, O'Neill, and Egan took part. After the discussion the meeting considered some proposals to make the Junior Students of the Sodality take a greater interest in, and have a better knowledge than hitherto of the meetings of the Conference. On a motion of thanks to Mr. Hackett for his paper being carried, the meeting concluded.—G. O'Neill, S.J., March 12, 1905.

XXVI.—1905.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, March 12. Father O'Neill, S.J., in the Chair. When the minutes had been read, Mr. William Dawson was requested to read his paper on "The Place of the Layman in the Church," which dealt with the responsibilities of the layman in relation to the Church. The discussion which followed was sustained by Father Darlington, Fr. O'Neill, Fr. Peter Finlay, S.J., Dr. McWeeney, Messrs. Hackett, Kettle, Clery, Dawson, Curran. At the request of the Chairman, Fr. Peter Finlay gave a short account of the sphere of action of the Catholic layman which, after thanks had been returned to Mr. Dawson for his paper, concluded the meeting.

XXVII.—1905.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, April 9. Mr. Semple, F.R.U.I., delivered a paper on "Catholics and their Neighbours in Ireland," in which he gave a description of the relations between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland, and the balance of power amongst the non-Catholic sects for the last sixty years. On the subsequent discussion, Mr. A. M. Sullivan spoke with reference to

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the unjust appointments on religious considerations in the legal profession, and Dr. McWalter spoke with reference to religious inequality in Ireland and the need for an Association. After some further discussion as to the action of Catholics in social and public life towards non-Catholics, and on a vote of thanks to Mr. Semple, the meeting adjourned.—T. A. Finlay, May 14th, 1905.

XXVIII.—1905.—A meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday 10th May. The subject of the Conference was a paper sent, at the request of the Reverend Director, by Dr. P. A. Sheehan on "Non-Dogmatic Religion." The paper was read in Dr. Sheehan's absence by the Secretary. After the paper had been read a discussion took place on the possibility of religion without dogmatism in which Fathers Darlington, O'Neill, Messrs. Egan, Kettle, Clery, Kennedy, and others took part. The conference concluded with the Chairman's summing up the arguments in favour of the views given in the paper, and expressing on behalf of the conference his appreciation of Dr. Sheehan's kindness in contributing the paper.—G. O'Neill, 11th February, 1906.

XXIX.—1906.—A last meeting of the Library Conference was held on Sunday, 11th February, 1906. Fr. G. O'Neill, S.J., was voted to the Chair, and after giving an explanation of the aims of the Conference to the newcomers, called on Mr. Semple to deliver his lecture on "The Roman Character as seen from their History." Mr. Semple gave an interesting and succinct account of the character of the Romans in their government and public religion, and at the close brought his lecture into touch with the rise of Christianity in Rome and traced its early history under the Emperors. A discussion then followed in which Fathers O'Neill, Fegan, Browne, and Messrs. Clery, Kennedy, Murnaghan, and Keane took part. Father Bartoli, S.J., also gave some interesting accounts of early Roman religion as revealed from recent Roman excavations. On a vote of thanks being passed by the Chairman, and carried enthusiastically to Mr. Semple for his lecture, the Conference adjourned.

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The Minute Book ends here; but this was not the end of the Conferences. We read in *Hermes* for May 1907 that Fr. John Gerard, S.J., of London, had addressed a large meeting of the Conference, the exact date not being given. He spoke upon the subject with which his name was most connected, that of "Science and Religion." And in February, 1908, we are told that a good programme is in preparation for the remainder of the session; a regret being added that the Conferences "which are so popular and well attended" are not commenced earlier in the year.

## CHAPTER XII.

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### ENTRANCE OF WOMEN STUDENTS.

WITH ASSISTANCE OF PROFESSOR MARY HAYDEN, M.A.



## ENTRANCE OF WOMEN STUDENTS.

THOSE who are interested in the subject of this book will probably expect to see a full and thorough account of the history of the College in its relation to the higher education of women in Ireland. And surely if the subject were to have been dismissed in a few jejune sentences, our readers would have been deprived of information regarding movements that were important in themselves, but much more so if regarded as a part of that revolution in the status of women which our generation is witnessing. What is called the emancipation of women extends much further than their demand for higher education. Yet the social and political upheaval was enhanced and to some extent dignified by the educational movements which accompanied, or we should perhaps say, preceded legislative action.

The history of the entrance of women into University College has its dismal side. For years there was agitation, controversy, friction, attending the efforts made by those who regarded the exclusion of women from the College as an injustice and who kept hammering at its walls till the stonework gave and the breach was effected. Yet, looking back over the period of struggle and considering its varying phases fairly and broadly, we think that a good case could be made out for the authorities of the College. But as it is not the province of the historian to decide mighty questions of controversy, we must content ourselves with laying bare the history of the case—as enshrined in documents chiefly compiled by the advocates of

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educational equality, who certainly were wanting in neither eloquence nor persistency. We have the reports of the Robertson and Fry Commission with the evidence offered by women as regards their then existing disabilities; and, through the kindness of Professor Mary Hayden, who was one of the leaders in the fight, if not their chief, we have been favoured with excerpts from the minutes of the "Association of Women Graduates and Graduate-Candidates."<sup>1</sup> We have also had access to the minutes of the Royal University.

Admission to the old College in St. Stephen's Green did come about, but it came gradually. When the College started on its course in the early 'eighties, no idea existed, at least in Ireland, that the higher education of women should be treated exactly on the same footing as that of men. The modern University movement was not properly started till near the end of the last century. In 1879, Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin Universities did not admit women to their Halls. London University had but one year previously admitted them to all its privileges as to membership, degrees, and honours, but the champions of reform in England were till much later busily engaged in developing separate Colleges for women, such as Bedford College in London, and Holloway and Cheltenham in the country. The University, however, being merely an examining body, had little difficulty in admitting women to its Degrees; and the Royal University Act, running on similar lines, did likewise.

<sup>1</sup> This expression denotes those students who were in the stage approaching the Final Examination for a Degree.

In fact it went beyond London, because in the original Charter it was expressly stated that all Exhibitions, Scholarships, Fellowships, and other emoluments are to be open to women equally with men.

This regulation no doubt gave a strong impetus to the demand for higher education for women. It will be remembered that the establishment of the Royal University followed that of the Intermediate Board which offered prizes and exhibitions to be competed for by the Girls' Schools equally with the Boys'. It is true that in the early period there were certain distinctions made in the competitions between the two classes of pupils; but the girls were already becoming accustomed while at school to the excitement of general competition and were thus encouraged to proceed further and enter for the distinctions and money prizes offered by the University. As they had now to compete with the men, naturally a desire sprang up among the women candidates to have the same teaching as the men, and of course this desire was intensified by the fact that the Professors of the men's Colleges conducted the examinations.

In the two more important Queen's Colleges women students were admitted at least to certain classes, and in Dublin a demand for a similar admission to University College was made. Besides, the exclusion of women students involved the exclusion of women Professors, and inasmuch as some of the women obtained the highest honours which were open to competition, such as Studentships and Junior Fellowships, they complained of the grievance of not being



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admitted to the teaching staff of the College like other Fellows of the University.

From the point of view of these claims the case for redress was sufficiently strong. But there was another side to the question. The authorities of the College maintained that before women students and Professors or Lecturers could be admitted to the College, some suitable accommodation would be necessary. Now, as it was, the College was badly equipped even for the men. The classrooms were in many cases overcrowded; so were the laboratories, the corridors, and the premises generally. The College had certainly not been originally intended for any kind of mixed education, which clearly involves special organization if it is to be carried on satisfactorily. Nor was there money available for remedying these defects.

If it be objected that a somewhat narrow conservatism was also obstructing the reforms demanded, it might be replied that the reforming party, in their over-eagerness, sometimes confused a newly-sought privilege with a strict right.

We have told elsewhere how, in the year 1895, Miss Hayden won a Junior Fellowship in English Studies; she was therefore aggrieved at not being appointed to a vacant Professorship in the College, and considered it an additional wrong that her competitor, Fr. George O'Neill, S.J., was elected to the Chair. It should not be supposed that this question was agitated on personal grounds; Miss Hayden had always maintained that the principle was a wrong one, and that the injustice had been inflicted not so much upon herself as upon her sex. Viewing the matter

historically, we must admit that a feeling of soreness resulted—but not that there was anything amounting to a quarrel, properly speaking, between Miss Hayden's supporters and the authorities of the College or the Jesuit body.

Seven years earlier than this controversy about the English Chair, that is, in the autumn of 1888, a memorial on the difficulties of the women students had been addressed to the Standing Committee of the Royal Senate by thirteen Catholic lady Graduates and Undergraduates. They drew attention "to the serious disability under which they labour in not being permitted to attend the lectures of the University Fellows delivered in Dublin," stating that they "had been refused permission to attend the lectures in University College," and asking the Senate "to take some steps to remedy this hardship." The minute of the Committee to the Senate was that "while sympathizing fully with the Memorialists, they are clearly of the opinion that the Senate have neither the right nor the power to interfere with the arrangements made in any of the Colleges in which the Fellows teach. But they think that if any number of the Memorialists or other female students of the University could arrange with any of the Fellows to deliver courses of lectures specially for the female students, a room for the delivery should be provided in these buildings."

Very few of the Fellows, not more than two or three, belonging to University College availed themselves of this suggestion of the Standing Committee; they arranged with the Secretaries to occupy a Hall in the University Buildings in Earlsfort Terrace to lecture

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to a group of women students. Among them were the Abbé Polin, who lectured in French, and Fr. Finlay on Philosophy. The latter was now living in St. Stephen's Green, and was moreover acting for this and the following Session as Dean of Studies. He had always shown himself most sympathetic and helpful in regard to the claims of women to higher education, and took this opportunity of proving his devotion to their cause. There was no remuneration for this service, and we are not able to say how long it was continued, but Father Finlay thinks the period was comparatively short.

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It was much later that the introduction of women into the Medical School, Cecilia Street, took place. In October 1896, Miss Frances Sinclair requested permission to follow a course in Sanitary Science and Pathology. The Governing Body decided that her request might be granted, and gave a direction to the Faculty that if other women made application for admission, they might be permitted to follow similar Senior Courses. The result of this ruling was that during the year there were six women students at the School. Four of these were non-Catholics, and they included Miss Jellet, daughter of the Provost of T.C.D. In the following year the Faculty expressed their belief that to admit women as students on a wider scale would be advantageous to the interests of the School.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> It is stated in the Minutes of the Faculty of June, 1897, that Dr. McFeeley had written recommending that if accommodation could be possibly provided, women should be admitted to all the courses of the School. The application was supported by Drs. Birmingham and Coffey.

The Board of Governors agreed to this in October 1897, adding that proper conditions for the students must be arranged. This proviso was carried out through the offer of Dr. Quinlan to surrender to lady students his Pharmacy, Laboratory, and Specimen-room, and these were immediately fitted up as a waiting-room and dissecting-room for the use of the lady students.

The admission to St. Stephen's Green came about, as we stated, gradually, and in the following way. In the year 1902, that is, shortly after the establishment of the Academic Council, and owing to its influence, an arrangement was agreed to by which it became possible to admit women to certain classes by holding them in the Aula Maxima. This had been even previously used as an ordinary Lecture Hall,<sup>3</sup> though it was properly intended for more public functions. The innovation involved, of course, a considerable recasting of the Horarium; as lectures previously given simultaneously must now be arranged for separate hours. As the Hall was a large one, occasionally small classes were screened off at the lower end while the principal lecturer occupied the platform. In this rather primitive fashion, it was found possible to provide for most of the Honours Lectures in literary subjects for the graduate (M.A. or B.A.) and ante-graduate (2nd Arts) courses.

The new Horarium was communicated to the Robertson Commission by Dr. Delany, and is appended to his evidence given on July 1902, as follows:—

<sup>3</sup> Especially for lectures on Religious Doctrine.

*Syllabus of Public Lectures delivered at University College, Dublin, during the Session 1901-2*

	10 a.m.	11 a.m.	12 o'clock	1 p.m.
<b>Monday</b>	History Second Arts Mr. Carbery, M.A.	Logic Second Arts Mr. Magennis, F.R.U.I.	English Second Arts Mr. Bacon, F.R.U.I.	French M.A. M. Cadic, F.R.U.I.
<b>Tuesday</b>	Political Economy Rev. T. A. Finlay, F.R.U.I.	Mental Science Mr. Magennis, F.R.U.I.	Religion* Rev. P. Finlay, S.J.	Irish Rev. E. Hogan, D. Litt., F.R.U.I.
<b>Wednesday</b>	History Second Arts	Logic	Religion* Rev. T. A. Finlay, F.R.U.I.	German Literature B.A. M. Cadic, F.R.U.I.
<b>Thursday</b>	History B.A. Mr. Carbery, M.A.	English B.A. Rev. Geo. O'Neill, F.R.U.I.	Mental Science	French B.A. (Composition and Conversation) M. Cadic, F.R.U.I.
<b>Friday</b>	Political Economy	Logic	English Second Arts	French Literature Second Arts M. Cadic, F.R.U.I.
<b>Saturday</b>	History B.A.	English B.A.	Mental Science Rev. J. Darlington F.R.U.I.	

\* Lectures for Catholic Students only.

The Lectures commenced on Monday, October 28, 1901, and were given in the Great Hall of University College continuously up to the end of May 1902, except during the College holidays.

On April 2, 1902, twenty women students were admitted as members of the College, and one more later in the Session. In the following year the number attending was three or four less; but in 1904 it rose again to nineteen. These students were (with only one or two exceptional cases of women previously studying privately) already members of the Catholic women's Colleges,<sup>4</sup> St. Mary's Dominican College and Loreto, both of them situated in St. Stephen's Green, and the latter only a few doors distant from University College. It will be convenient here to give some details of these two important institutions, both of which are intimately bound up with our present subject.

St. Mary's College had been founded so far back as 1886, whereas Loreto College dated only from 1893. Neither of these houses was a mere hostel; in both of them full courses of lectures were given, partly by members of the Communities and partly by extern lecturers who could not be Fellows of the University, but were often Tutors of University College or otherwise recognized as scholars of repute. Both Colleges were fortunate in having as Presidents Sisters of exceptional ability who showed by the marked success of their candidates in the higher examinations that they were amply qualified for their really difficult positions. The names of Mother Patrick (O.S.D.) and

<sup>4</sup> One or possibly more came from the (Protestant) Alexandra College, which was also situated close to Stephen's Green.

Mother Eucharía (Inst. B.V.M.) will not be easily forgotten among the Catholic women of Ireland. More about these veteran pioneers cannot be said in our pages, since one is still in full activity<sup>5</sup> while the other entered into her reward a few years ago.

Both Colleges were represented before the Robertson Commission in 1902; St. Mary's by Miss Mary Hayden, M.A.; and Loreto by Professor James Macken, M.A. From their evidence we can give some details about the distinctions won by the women students in the University.

To St. Mary's, two Junior Fellowships and a Studentship had fallen; also four University Scholarships (three First Class), and twice the "Hutchinson Stewart" Scholarships in Arts. The record of Loreto College in this sort was not quite so brilliant; still its students, since 1893, had won a Studentship; four University Scholarships; and again the "Hutchinson Stewart" Scholarship twice. Loreto also boasted of ten First Places, and seven Second, in the Honours List.<sup>6</sup> The total number of Honours won by St. Mary's was given as one hundred and thirty-one; that of Loreto is curiously close, one hundred and forty-one. It should be observed that the candidates from St. Mary's though chiefly taking English Studies or Modern Languages, excelled also in Ancient Classics, and in Mental and Moral Science. In the Loreto return the subjects taken are not named. While

<sup>5</sup> Alas! no longer. Mother Eucharía died while these pages were in preparation.

<sup>6</sup> The corresponding number is not given in St. Mary's return. It was probably much the same. The lists were evidently drawn independently, as their form does not quite correspond.

viewing these records as a whole and comparing their value, there is not a great deal to choose between them; but most certainly taken together they show very high proficiency in study at this period among the Catholic women of Ireland.

We have now to consider the relation of these two very successful Colleges to the contemplated reforms in Higher Education. And it is very much to our point to note that there was a somewhat marked difference in the policy they respectively urged upon the Commissioners. They agreed indeed in demanding that, in any scheme recommended by the Commission, all lectures, whether in Arts or Science, and all laboratories and other privileges and appliances, as well as all examinations, honours, positions, and emoluments, should be open to women under exactly the same conditions as to men. They also requested that a certain share of public endowment, at least in the form of building grants, should be allotted to their respective institutions as Residences for women Students. But, whereas the Dominican College claimed this aid merely in the form of a Residential College or Hostel, Loreto maintained that for some girls a purely mixed system of University Education would not be advantageous—and therefore expressed a strong preference for the recognition of their College by the University as a teaching institution. And they requested suitable financial assistance in order that their studies, equipment and staff might satisfy the conditions required for such recognition. This would imply that the requirements of the University as to attendance at lectures for graduation would be ful-



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filled by the attendance of the students at their own College. "Even in case that the laboratories and lectures of any new University foundation be thrown open to women, the authorities of Loreto would ask that their institution be recognised as a Hall of Residence with *financial assistance for the purpose of providing tutorial lectures, and that these should be recognised as satisfying requirements for pass students at least.*"<sup>7</sup> It was also suggested by the witness representing them that the College would be ready to accept, as an indirect form of endowment, merely the appointment of a certain number of Fellows or Lecturers for the purposes of their institution. One reason urged by the Sisters for this policy was the fact that the education of Catholic girls and women in Ireland is largely in the hands of the Religious Orders; and "that it is of supreme importance that the teachers of these Orders should themselves have received a broad and liberal education which would prepare them to fulfil their important duties with greater advantage to the nation." A larger number of their own Order, for instance, which conducts thirteen Secondary Schools and had matriculated one hundred and thirty-nine students during the last ten years, would be enabled by the scheme they put forward to obtain a further measure (than is now possible) of higher education.

The policy indicated in this last statement had also strong advocates in the authorities of Alexandra College, who maintained that a system of higher education for women to some extent separate from

<sup>7</sup> Our italics.

that for men was on general grounds preferable. Much controversy was aroused on the subject which does not concern us directly; but yet we think it should be kept before the minds of those who are judging of the history and policy of University College in its dealings with the problem. We must now consider further developments owing to the action of a new organization which came into prominence during the sitting of this Commission.

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It was soon after Easter in 1902 that the "Irish Association of Women Graduates and Candidate-Graduates" was founded. A similar association existed in England, and the Irish one was taken up with warm enthusiasm, mainly owing to the energetic action of Miss Alice Oldham, B.A. Over two hundred members were quickly enrolled and local branches were at once formed in Belfast, Cork, Derry, and Galway. Miss Oldham was elected (and later Miss Mulvany) as President, Miss Mary Hayden as Vice-President, Miss Haslett and Miss Kennedy as Hon. Secretaries; Miss Curran as Hon. Treasurer. Among the members of the first Committee were: Miss Agnes O'Farrelly, Mrs. John Thompson, Miss Mary Pelly, and Dr. Katharine Maguire. The members who had not yet taken their Degrees were not permitted to vote; the Association was put on a wide basis, being both non-sectarian and non-political. Its objects were defined as follows:—

I.—To be an organization of University women connected with Ireland, and a means of communication and mutual action in matters concerning their interests.

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II.—To promote the interest of women in any Scheme of University Education in Ireland, and to secure that all advantages of such education shall be open to women equally with men.

III.—To form a register of the members of the Association seeking appointments, and to supply to employers information regarding their qualifications.

It was intended that the Association would not take sides in any controversy as to the best form of a University settlement, but confine itself to seeking perfect equality for women under any of the rival schemes.

In 1904 a memorial to University College on the subject of the admission of women was prepared by the Committee and after being submitted to the local branches for approval, it was adopted at a meeting of the Association held at Alexandra School in the month of April. A hundred copies were printed, and it was decided to send them to the President, the Council, and the Staff of the College, to the Senate of the University, to the Archbishop of Dublin, to the Council and Staff of the Medical School, and to the Dean of the Faculty. This was a direct request to open all the lectures of the College given by Fellows of the University to Women Students. One reason for this action was that in March of the previous year (1903) a Resolution of the Board of Trinity College had been passed, and granted or confirmed by Royal authority,<sup>8</sup> by virtue of which women became admissible to all Lectures, Examinations, and Degrees in Arts and in the Medical School, but not to Fellowships or Scholarships. A separate anatomical department

<sup>8</sup> By a letter of His Majesty, dated December, 1903.

was set apart for women students, and certain medical lectures were to be given to women in a separate building outside the College. A lady Registrar was appointed whose duty was to give assistance to women students if required.

At this date neither Degrees were given nor lectures fully open to women at the older Universities in England. On the other hand, the three Queen's Colleges had at this time admitted women students practically on a par with men.

When the President of University College had been approached on a previous occasion on the subject, he had replied that, as Trinity College was not open to women, neither could University College, being far less well endowed and equipped, arrange for their admission. He was, however, believed to have added that should Trinity College open its doors to women, University College would feel obliged to act likewise. It was on these grounds that the Association of Women Graduates addressed their memorial to the College. The President laid the matter before the Academic Council, and they did not see their way to do more than the College had already done three years previously, when the Public Lectures in the Aula Maxima had been organized for the benefit of the women students. A waiting room had been arranged for their benefit; but it was decided that under present circumstances no arrangements were possible by which women could be put on a full position of equality with men, especially in regard to laboratory work. To this reply an answer was sent by the Association; and in October a further memorial

was sent to the Senate of the University expostulating with regard to the exclusion of women in Dublin and the neighbourhood from lectures given by the Fellows of the University, and asking for the assistance of the Senate in the removal of this grievance.

Meanwhile in the month of June an incident happened which caused some sensation.<sup>9</sup> The Registrar of the College, Mr. F. Sheehy-Skeffington, M.A., had not merely drafted the memorial but had exerted himself in procuring signatures to it within and outside of the College. In May Fr. Delany sent him a "friendly admonition" pointing out that as an officer of the College it was not within his province to publicly advocate schemes which were in opposition to the policy of the College. To this letter the Registrar replied that he could not see any inconsistency in acting as he had, because no definite policy had been formulated by the College authorities within his official knowledge, and he considered that the admission of women to Trinity College had intensified the need that University College, for its own prestige, should prove no less progressive. However, as he wished to be free for the future, he gave six months' notice of his resignation of the Registrarship. Subsequently he remarked that Fr. Delany's action was not unfair, and he did not see how, as President, he could have acted differently in the circumstances.

In their Final Report, issued in 1903, the Commissioners recommended that under any scheme of founding a new University College in Dublin, women should be placed upon a footing of full equality with men. "We

<sup>9</sup> This matter was referred to above. See Chap. VII., p. 214.

think that women and men students should attend lectures and pass examinations in the same Colleges and obtain Degrees on the same conditions. We recommend that all Degrees and other privileges of the University should be open, without distinction of sex. *The existing women's Colleges might be easily converted into Residential Halls*, in connection with the University of Dublin or with the constituent Colleges in Dublin and Belfast under the reorganized Royal University." The Report adds a recommendation that the State should contribute a sum for equipment and for bursaries in connection with such Residential Halls. Thus the whole weight of this Commission was thrown into the scale of the Women Graduates' Scheme of reform, the same Scheme which, as all know, was ultimately followed in 1909. But it is important to note that the Fry Commission, three years later than the Robertson, took a different view of the case.

They in their turn were approached by the Women Graduates' Association, who both sent in memorials and were also represented by two witnesses, namely, Miss Agnes O'Farrelly, M.A., regarding University College, and Miss Hannan, B.A., regarding Trinity. In the statement by the former the following passage occurs:—

"In University College, Dublin, fifteen Fellows in Arts of the Royal University lecture, but (except for certain public lectures given each session) women students are excluded from their teaching. About one hundred and twenty lectures in Arts are given weekly to the men students. From these women students are

excluded; yet for honours and prizes they have to compete with men students so taught by the Fellows (who are also Examiners)." They proceed to "beg earnestly that in laying down any scheme for Irish University as a whole, your Commission will recommend [*italics not ours*] *that no Charter or endowment be given to any University or University College which does not give to women students the same teaching, degrees, honours, and prizes as are open to men students.*"

At this period we are told that the School of Medicine has been for some time open to women with perfectly satisfactory results; and occasionally individual students, who apply for it, are allowed some tuition in Arts. To her evidence a note, moreover, was appended by Miss O'Farrelly to the effect that a woman student had been just admitted to the Physics course in University College, which presumably implies some use of the College laboratories.

When the witness was asked by the Chairman whether, in case there were a large class of parents who preferred that their girls should be educated in women's Colleges rather than in mixed College, she would object to their having the benefit of the lectures (given in Women's Colleges) she replied that she would consider it *a most unfortunate cleavage* —(*italics ours*).

It will be remembered that this Commission was appointed to enquire into Dublin University only, and that the question we are discussing was argued directly rather in connection with Trinity College than with University College. Still the principles invoked

on either side held equally for one as the other; and it is quite clear that in her evidence given as a representative of the Women Graduates, Miss O'Farrelly was arguing with a view to the ultimate settlement on a national scale. In fact she made this so clear that she was warned by the Chairman that to discuss the Royal University arrangements explicitly would be beyond the Reference of the Commission.

The case of Trinity was complicated by the existence of Protestant Women's Colleges, and more particularly of Alexandra College, Dublin, and their urgent claim to be recognised by the University of Dublin as a constituent College. The evidence of Miss White, LL.D., Principal of Alexandra College, in pressing her case for recognition, evidently impressed the Commission, especially (as we gather from the way the questions were put) the Chairman and Chief Baron Palles. For instance the latter said: "Am I right in saying that there is a large proportion of the parents that would prefer their children remaining in Alexandra College and being lectured there for Pass Lectures rather than in Trinity College and attending those lectures in common with the men students?"

Anyhow that is the view taken in the Report. Among the General Conclusions and Recommendations we read:

"No. 31.—That the Governing Body [i.e. of T.C.D.] shall be empowered to recognise teachers in any Colleges for women in Dublin or within thirty miles of Trinity College."

And in the text of the Report the following passage occurs:—



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“There is no doubt in our minds that there exist many parents in and about Dublin who prefer for their girls an education in Colleges exclusively for women to co-education in mixed classes; and it is in our opinion of importance that the wishes of such parents should be consulted.”

This reversal by a later Commission of the view advocated by the Robertson Commission, seems to indicate that during the later years of University College public opinion had not hardened in favour of co-education in Universities. The whole matter was still warmly debated, and although the attempt of the Fry Commission to stem the current that was strongly setting in would hardly be possible at the present day, we must remember that the whole position of women in post-War times has been changed in these countries. It was, moreover, hardly to be expected that a Catholic College founded for men would be in the vanguard (as the Royal University undoubtedly was) in the struggle for the full emancipation of women in regard to education.

We can now briefly resume our story, for it is approaching the end. The new buildings at the back of No. 86 St. Stephen's Green, known as the 'Garden Classrooms,' were built, partly out of the old Ball Alleys referred to elsewhere,<sup>10</sup> early in the year 1907. This contraption, which was rapidly run up, was also called *Father Finlay's Tin University*. The reason for this irreverent appellation was that the undertaking was (whether rightly or wrongly) supposed to have been suggested by an article written and signed by

<sup>10</sup> See p. 119.

Professor T. A. Finlay.<sup>11</sup> He advocated the policy of establishing in a frankly temporary building a "National University College" under Trustees and with a small Academic Council, financed by voluntary subscriptions (on a system which he worked out in detail)—and when so established to demand for it an adequate government subsidy. His contention was that such a policy would constitute an *ad interim* solution of the University Problem, and that it would infallibly force the hands of the authorities to stop their delays, which were becoming now unbearable, and to adopt the settlement which would already exist *in embryo*. It was a most ingenious suggestion which could have been carried out if the Irish Catholic body had been at this time capable of undertaking a drastic proposal which involved taking their fate into their own hands. But they were by this time pretty well tired out. Any buildings run up in connection with Fr. Finlay's scheme would necessarily be of a temporary nature; and as a matter of fact the Garden Classrooms were only in use for a couple of years before the old system was superseded. But they did actually provide just that additional room that was required at the moment for the fuller entrance of women into the College. Among other facilities a new and more commodious Chemical Laboratory was provided. Besides the buildings an adjoining house was brought into the scheme, in which apartments were provided for the women, with cloakrooms, and a comfortable waiting-room; a lady<sup>12</sup> was put in charge

<sup>11</sup> In the *New Ireland Review* for May, 1895.

<sup>12</sup> First, Mrs. Ennis; and subsequently Mrs. Green, who still holds the office under the new College.

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as Dean of Residence, exercising proper authority over the newcomers; so that henceforth they were on a new footing as a properly constituted element of the corporate body. The President personally called on the Mother-General of the Loreto Institute at Rathfarnham Abbey, asking that in future the students of Loreto College should be entered as members of University College in case they so desired. This was granted in the permissive sense; and henceforth by degrees the Ladies' Colleges tended to become merely Residential institutions. There is an old saying, "Better late than never!"

## CHAPTER XIII.

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### GROWTH OF NATIONAL SPIRIT.

INCLUDING RECOLLECTIONS OF CONSTANTINE CURRAN, M.A. ;  
DR. JAMES O'KELLY, B.A., M.O., JAMES CLANDILLON, B.A. ;  
and PATRICK J. LITTLE, B.A.

1. **Introductory.**
2. **The Gaelic League.**
3. **The Irish Ireland Movement.**
4. **Young Ireland Branch of the U.I.L.**
5. **The Essential Irish Controversy.**

***Appendix***—Impressions of Sarsfield Kerrigan, M.B., B.Ch.



## GROWTH OF NATIONAL SPIRIT.

### 1.—*Introductory*

It is obvious that this volume, taken as a whole, if it gives a true history of University College, must throw a powerful light upon the development of nationalistic thought and activity among its students. During the quarter of a century about which we are writing, many events took place in Ireland which brought about new phases in the struggle for national independence; and as youthful minds are most sensitive to movements of the spirit, it would be natural to expect that national impulses would find expression in the life of University College. Consequently, in our descriptive chapters, incidents will have occurred more or less related to the subject of this chapter, and although we shall try to avoid overlapping, it is possible that some slight repetitions may be unavoidable. It will, we think, be evident to all concerned that notwithstanding the complexity of the matters involved, an attempt must be made to give, in as connected a way as possible, some account of the College life on what we must call, for want of a better term, its quasi-political side.

As it behoves us to keep to one period, we must rigidly exclude any reference to subsequent events. Nor is it always easy, when describing a situation as existing at a certain date, to avoid thinking of later developments which may seem to throw light upon

the causes or conditions of those earlier movements, and which are also fresher in our own memories. Therefore the reader, if he would follow our story aright, must keep his attention close to the period about which that story revolves.

In our chapter upon the relations of the School to the College we have shown how profound was the influence exercised by the older upon the younger institution, and this influence is nowhere more remarkable than in regard to nationalist activities. The Medicals were more in contact with the realities of life than the students of the Arts and Scientific Faculties; they were also under less restriction and had far wider opportunities of emphasising their political ideas. They thus naturally took the lead in any organized action; and the close association which the Cecilians had with their brother-students of the Green certainly enabled their more ardent spirits to gain recruits among the Artsmen. Not indeed that the students of the College were always slow to respond to such invitations. Many, no doubt, were indifferent; some were perhaps entirely out of touch with advanced opinions, but all through the College history from its very commencement a sturdy group of active-minded nationalists made its presence felt. Our record will show that the College produced a number of highly-gifted men, some of whom, not merely left a lasting mark upon the history of their country, but even in their student days gave good promise—and more than promise—of their quality of brain and of character.

There was necessarily a marked difference between

the beginning and the end of our period. In fact, in the early years little more was shown than a tendency to debate about possible remedies for political grievances; whereas, in the middle and more especially in the later period, the minds of the students began to be directed towards practical action, whether of the revolutionary or non-revolutionary order. Naturally, enquiry was more immediately concentrated upon the University Question, but this by no means excluded, it rather harmonized with a direct attention to, questions of wider interest. It must also be borne in mind that, while, in regard to University matters, our period comes to a fitting close by a thorough *bouleversement* of College life, in regard to the national movement no sudden change occurred till 1916, nearly a decade after our record reaches its conclusion.

## 2.—*The Gaelic League.*

Although the Gaelic League was founded under the Presidency of Dr. Douglas Hyde so early as 1893, it does not appear to have influenced the fortunes of the College previous to the entrance of George Clancy in the Autumn of 1898. He was a man of attractive personality, and his lovable character equally with his athletic record and gift for organization gave him an exceptional influence over his contemporaries. He was stated to be the best-loved man in the city of Limerick when he held the Mayoralty at the time of his tragic and cruel death in 1921.

When he came to Dublin he soon got into contact with the Celtic Literary Society, where he met Arthur



Griffith and William Rooney, whose activity was strong at the end of the last century. "He also found the Gaelic League, and his first Irish teacher was a shy, studious-looking, very earnest young man named Patrick H. Pearse. Among his host of friends were many of his fellow-students at the College—Sheehy-Skeffington, Tom Kettle, Dr. Seumas O'Kelly, J. M. O'Sullivan, Patrick Merriman, Louis Walsh, Dr. Ada English. He knew and loved old Michael Cusack, founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association, whom he often met at 'An Stad,' an Irish tobacco shop kept by the famous Irish humorist, Cathal McGarvey, in North Frederick Street, Dublin."<sup>1</sup>

There was never at any time a Branch of the Gaelic League in the College, but Clancy set himself to work up interest in the organization and to recruit members among his fellow-students. In this he was assisted by Patrick J. Merriman (now President of the Cork College), who had already become an active member of the League. It is interesting to know that among those who were approached by the two pioneers was Seumas Clandillon (though he did not come up till the year 1899) and that he at first rejected the invitation, thinking that the Gaelic movement was retrograde. He remembers it was some months before he yielded to their arguments and entreaties, when he became at once the ardent and efficient promoter of the League.

Clancy started a Club called "The Confederates" as a social and literary centre, and also devoted himself energetically to promote hurling among the younger

<sup>1</sup> Extract from notes kindly supplied by Mrs. George Clancy.

men of Dublin. He refused to admit to his club, called "The Geraldines," anyone who was not a beginner, so that the first year was disastrous as to matches. In the same spirit he refused an offer to play on the County Team. After graduating in 1904, he was a short time in Clongowes College as a language teacher, but he fell ill and returned to his home in Co. Limerick, and finally to the city, where he spent the rest of his life.

The College members of the League mostly joined the Central Branch, at 24 Upper O'Connell Street. Here Pearse held a regular class of Irish, and Seumas O'Kelly a special Sunday morning class, which was attended by Seumas McManus and also by a large number of College students, some of whose names have been mentioned. There were also the following women students:—Helena Walsh (now Mrs. Concannon), May McConnell (now Mrs. Fitzgerald), Moira O'Kennedy, Mary Cleary (Mrs. Dr. Meenan), and Máire Byrne. Dr. Kerrigan writes: "In Cecilia Street a class was started by Connor O'Byrne, in or about the year 1901. A large number of the school students, possibly a majority of them, followed this class. Among the crowd I remember specially the names of Patrick O'Doherty, Daniel Boylan, James McCloskey, and Stephen Walsh." Both Pearse and Clandillon taught Irish in University College in 1900-2, and subsequently Seumas O'Kelly, who came to University College from Belfast, in 1902. Though after a year he went to Cecilia Street, he did not give up his Irish classes at the Green. From the first he had the distinction of being a member of the Executive Council

of the League; and for that reason he kept aloof from all organizations of a political sort. Although the Gaelic League was very commonly counted as a political body—and no doubt its influence on the mind and destiny of the Irish people has been extremely important—yet it was always the boast of the organization that it exists for a special purpose quite distinct from the aims of any political party.

It may be noted that prior to 1899 Patrick J. Merri-man had been on the Committee of the Central Branch; in that year he resigned, and his place was filled by Hugh Kennedy, who subsequently acted as Hon. Secretary to the Branch. James O'Toole had also joined the League at an early date, and he and his brother Edward were for some time prominent in the organization.

Meanwhile, in University College the Gaelic movement was spreading. The relationship between the League and the Literary and Historical Society was of the closest, and debates relating to the work of the former were frequent, in which the League kept the upper hand in spite of a strong opposition led by Francis Skeffington. When a grant was made by the Society in the year 1902 to the Gaelic League Irish Language Fund, the latter charged the officials who put the matter to a vote with embezzlement, threatened to apply for an injunction, and finally withdrew his name from the Society. How popular this fund was among the Medicals may be gathered from the fact that £23 0s 0d. was subscribed at the School. This achievement was due to the efforts of Messrs. T. Madden, E. Fitzgerald, J. J. McConnell, and James

McCloskey. The Staff contributed, and also the Staffs of the Mater and St. Vincent's Hospitals. It was stated about this time that the Registrar, Dr. Birmingham, was a "pillar of strength" to the Dundrum Branch of the League. In 1899, members of the Central Branch, among whom were many students of the University, took a leading part in opposing the presentation in Dublin of the *Countess Kathleen*, by W. B. Yeats. Among those who raided the theatre and interrupted what they considered objectionable passages, practically wrecking the play, were Sheehy-Skeffington, Clancy, Walsh, Clandillon, Dr O'Doherty, Ford, and Conroy. In the following year the subscription made in University College was said to "exceed even the splendid collection of last year," and "came as a pleasant surprise to the pessimistic prophets."

We state elsewhere that, at a lecture given by Dr. Hyde, the President of the League, in this same Session, the Aula Maxima was full to overflowing, and indeed rarely if ever did the Hall contain a more enthusiastic audience.

It should be remarked here that close to the College, first at 9 St. Stephen's Green, and later at 19 Ely Place, a Branch of the League existed which was attended by several College members of the League. It was, by Dr Hyde's suggestion, called the "Branch of the Five Provinces." At a later date Arthur Clery was elected President. During the College vacation the Branch was closed.<sup>2</sup>

David Comyn, who has been called a pioneer of the

<sup>2</sup> We understand that the Branch is still in existence, and its meetings continue to be well attended.

Language movement, wrote, a few years before his death (i.e. 13th January, 1903): "There are so many young men in the movement gifted with a combination of common sense and enthusiasm that it looks more hopeful than ever."<sup>3</sup> It is probable that he referred mainly to the movement among the Dublin students.

### 3.—*The "Irish Ireland" Movement.*

The fundamental difference between the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin lay chiefly, perhaps, in the fact that while the former concentrated on the language, the latter was frankly a political movement. Although it would have nothing to say to party politics as commonly understood, and flouted all existing political methods, yet its direct aim was to secure complete national freedom in the political sphere. And, although in full sympathy with the language movement, the Sinn Féiners did not allow it the paramount importance demanded for the proper programme of the Gaels.

It was as early as 1899 that Arthur Griffith propounded his gospel which at least put many important matters in a new light. Together with William Rooney he founded the *United Irishman*, which ran as a weekly paper from March 1899 till April 1906. It was in constant conflict with the government, was frequently confiscated, and finally suppressed, only to appear under the title *Sinn Féin*. "The paper was

<sup>3</sup> From the letters to himself, published by J. J. Doyle, p. 30. (Comyn died in 1907.)

remarkable for the ability with which it was edited, the literary excellence of its articles, and the range of its topics, and the freedom which it allowed to discussion of different views."<sup>4</sup> The outstanding feature of its propaganda was the advocacy of the so-called 'Hungarian' policy—by which the autonomy of that country had been achieved—namely, the absolute abstention of Irish Nationalists from the Imperial Parliament, while carrying on the local and national activities of the people as best they could without parliamentary interference.

This current of ideas, variously called "the Hungarian policy," "anti-parliamentarianism," or (by Moran in the *Leader*) "the tin-pike policy," was not, during the first few years of the century, recognised on a wide scale, and its influence took effect on the University students only gradually and silently.

More or less concurrently with it there was a new gospel being preached—and with more immediate effect—which was generally referred to as "the Irish-Ireland idea." Its apostle was D. P. Moran. When he returned from London, he started the *Leader* in 1900, and his original and fiery writing soon began to make a deep impression, chiefly upon the Cecilia Street men, but also upon the College students. Though not a University man himself, Moran kept in touch with the College, sometimes attending and speaking at the Literary and Historical, and inviting the members to contribute to the pages of his paper. Arthur Clery, among others, was a constant writer in

<sup>4</sup> Professor R. M. Henry, M.A., in *The Evolution of Sinn Féin*, Dublin, 1920.

the *Leader* for a long series of years—in fact up to the present day, as also William Dawson. And if any important action of the students occurred such as to bring them into conflict with the authorities, the question was sure to be ventilated in the correspondence and columns of the paper, or even in the Editorial articles.

That the new spirit now stirring the country was strong and growing in the College in the early years of this century no one really acquainted with the student-life could possibly call into question. But as it was the spirit rather than an organization that counted, it is not easy to trace its development in concrete instances. We have admitted that the movement took on more vehemently in the northern than in the southern institution. The authorities at Cecilia Street were far more in sympathy with nationalist propaganda than those in the more conservative—shall we say tranquil?—atmosphere of the Green, but that life in the Green had its breezes, too, will be fairly evident to our readers.

As to some special phases connected with the Sinn Féin movement, we can give particulars—and first of the Dungannon Clubs, which were founded under the inspiration of Arthur Griffith<sup>5</sup> to propagate his ideas. The movement was started in Belfast by Bulmer Hobson. The name was taken from the Dungannon Volunteer Convention of 1782, in which the indepen-

<sup>5</sup> Many of the Dungannon Club leaders held more advanced views than Griffith; we understand that it was their desire to force Griffith to adopt a more extreme policy than he had hitherto advocated. Anyhow he was chosen as first President, and Bulmer Hobson Vice-President.

dence of Ireland as a separate kingdom, bound by its king, lords, and commons, was declared irrevocable for all time. Griffith had made in his articles, "The Resurrection of Hungary," a strong appeal to the Irish students to take as active a part in Irish politics as the Hungarian students under Deak and Kossuth, and the policy was taken up with all the fervour of a new idea by many of the younger men in the College and the School. Patrick McCartan came to Cecilia Street in the autumn of 1905 from America. He was a strong Republican, intense but not assertive, and from his sheer honesty of motive had a great influence personally and politically amongst the younger men. The club of which he was the first President had its headquarters at 41 North George's Street, and among the leaders in Cecilia Street were Stephen Walsh, Richard Hayes, William Hederman, Patrick Grogan, J. O'Maille, Eamon Dundon, and Eamon O'Doherty. But the most moving spirits in the club were undoubtedly Dan Sheehan and his lieutenant, John Elwood. Their methods were considered by many to be too theatrical. The wags called the leader 'god' Sheehan, and Elwood was his 'prophet.' The 'god' was serious-minded and reserved, and he spoke less than Elwood, who seemed, as it were, to make solemn pronouncements on behalf of his chief. The laugh went on—but so did the propaganda.

In University College considerable interest existed regarding the Dungannon movement, but it is by no means clear that at this date it received very solid support. A manifesto to the students was issued in the spring of 1906 which caused them apparently some



wonderment, and not a little hilarity; but it was an appeal to all Irish students, couched somewhat extravagantly, in support of the enterprise.

However, the Dungannon movement did not fructify, and after a couple of years dwindled or merged with the Sinn Féin movement. Here we might mention still another of the many student-institutions which sprang up under the influence of the new spirit. The "Students' National Literary Society" was founded in 1908 by Seumas O'Kelly, chiefly with a view to forwarding the "essential Irish" cause of which we shall presently speak. Seumas was its first President, but Miss Gavan Duffy sometimes presided. Michael Hayes (the Dáil Speaker) took a prominent part; also Drs. Dundon and Grogan, Berkeley O'Beirne, James Stewart, and Michael O'Malley. Some women students came from the School of Art and from Kildare Street School of Domestic Economy; Dr. Reynolds and Charlie Macauley and the two brothers Maguire also attended. Seumas O'Kelly read a paper on "Folk Poets," and Sarsfield Kerrigan on "The Invasion of 1796." W. B. Yeats, Arthur Darley, and Dr. Sigerson also read papers.

At this time, too (the end of 1905), some members of the University College and Cecilia Street combined to establish a social club, entitled the "Catholic University Club."<sup>6</sup> That politics were found sometimes to trouble harmony might be inferred from the words of the editor of *St. Stephen's*. When advocating social harmony between Cecilia Street and the Green

<sup>6</sup> This event is recorded at greater length elsewhere. See Chap. IX., § 2.

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he stated that "foremost among those who are drawing jarring chords together are the members of the Dungannon Club, and to recognise their splendid services is a duty we owe to ourselves as well as to the student body."

### *4—Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League.*

The establishment of this Branch towards the end of 1905 marks a distinct and somewhat curious phase of political activity in the College. The partisans of the Hungarian or Griffith policy were not merely opposed to parliamentary action, but had assailed Mr. Redmond, his Party, and his Party's organization known as the United Irish League, with all their powers of scorn and vituperation.

For some years past the hopes of any great political success had been waning. People did not like to admit it even to themselves, but it did appear to many as though Home Rule was more of a thing to talk about than to expect as a solid fact. The more depressed began to compare the whole thing with the Repeal movement, or the Tenant Right movement, or any other of the will-o'-the-wisps that had lured and deceived Ireland in days gone by. As for the Party, confidence in it was only faint. Much of the scorn and vituperation heaped on it by Griffith was recognised as deserved. But, what was the use, people said, of abusing it? Even if every man of it were a hero and a statesman, could it do very much as long as the Tories with their three-figure majority held sway?

Was there, then, no hope for the country? In politics little; but not on politics alone did a nation depend. As a man held in chains might yet have strength in his limbs and noble thoughts in his heart, so too with a nation. The new national consciousness which the Gaelic League had aroused was showing its effects. Self-respect, self-reliance, a determination to be true to herself, would go far to assure the survival and prosperity of the nation, and in time would bring about her freedom too. Such was the feeling which largely inspired the young generation in the opening years of the new century, and which naturally had a corresponding effect upon many of our own students. In 1905, moreover, the black cloud on the political horizon seemed to be breaking. By-elections were being won by the Liberals, and there were many other signs that England was growing tired of the Tory Government. If the Liberals came in, pledged as they were to Home Rule, would not the Irish Party have its supreme opportunity?

To strengthen all the forces which were then invigorating the spirit and health of the country, and at the same time to ensure the weight and keenness of the blade with which she was to face the great issue in Parliament—such was the idea which now began to possess the mind of many of our students—and gave a special opportunity to the most original thinker among them, who was undoubtedly Tom Kettle. He had hitherto been much occupied with *St. Stephen's*, but he now felt, that it, being merely a University College magazine, could not appeal sufficiently to the wider circle whom he now wished



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to influence.<sup>7</sup> He left it therefore to be continued by a group of a slightly younger generation—Tom Mangan, Paddy Little, Seumas O'Kelly, J. A. Ronayne, Gerald O'Byrne, John Kennedy, O'Connell, Sullivan, etc., and founded a new weekly the *Nationist*, in September 1905.

Certainly none less brilliant than other journalistic enterprises in which University College students had a part, this paper was a great success as a spiritual force, and drew to its columns most of the budding writers of the day—Hugh Kennedy, C. P. Curran, Thomas Smiddy, Padraic Colum, Maurice Joy, Robert Elliot, Herbert Hughes, Tom MacDonagh, Louis Walsh, Grattan Flood, Peter McBrien, etc.—who discoursed not merely of politics but of literature, art, economics, and *de omni re scibili*.

Politically the new paper was frankly and strongly for the Party and the United Irish League, sharply attacking O'Brien's new and distracting enthusiasm for round-table conferences, as well as Griffith's Hungarianism. At the same time it warmly espoused all the new forces making for internal invigoration, support of Irish industries, revival of national games, music, songs, amusements; above all the language cause; in the University question it vigorously supported the Catholic Scholarship scheme, just then started, which, Kettle held, if developed, would go far to solve the higher education problem.

Though a constitutionalist, Kettle was not blind to the defects of the Party, defects which, if not remedied,

<sup>7</sup> It must be remembered that Kettle had graduated in 1902, that is, three years previously.

involved the greatest danger. He stoutly maintained that the Party simply must not be allowed to act as it had acted from 1892 to 1895, slavishly subservient to the Liberals, and befooling the Irish people with vain assurances. The Liberals would do nothing except under the strongest of pressure. Already Rosebery had rattled from Home Rule, Birrell was wobbling, Asquith was not to be relied on. Only by a united, independent, determined, and vigorous Party could Home Rule be forced forward.

A constant theme of the paper was that the Party's apathy and weakness was owing to its routine traditions and its insensibility to new ideas; it therefore required an infusion of new blood. And the evident corollary of this was that the young and more actively-thinking generation should enter the United Irish League on which the Party depended for its support and its recruitment. When in December the Liberal Cabinet was formed, this idea was put into execution; and a Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League was established. Tom Kettle was, of course, its first Chairman; and it was joined by a brilliant band of associates—P. J. Little, Richard and Eugene Sheehy, Cruise O'Brien, Richard Hazleton, Francis Skeffington, William Fallon, Tom Madden, and James Creed Meredith.

This new development had, of course, been warmly welcomed by Redmond and the Party chiefs. For the preceding five or six years they had been feeling anything but comfortable. They were evidently out of touch with the coming generation. A number of groups and societies and movements and journals

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owning no allegiance to the Party—most of them critical of it, and some of them actively hostile to it—had been arising, and were gaining numerous adherents, especially among the young men. Here was a group of brilliant and active university students, among whom were men certain to have a future, offering their co-operation to the legitimate representative of the nation in Parliament. Ought their offer to be accepted? Rather!

And so the Y.I.B. was given the keys of the League's spacious rooms in O'Connell Street, and the steam-horn of the *Freeman* was set to proclaim their doings.

At first it gave great satisfaction to the Party leaders, and devoted its energies to attacking Griffithism. When, however, it had Tom Kettle and Richard Hazleton and Stephen Gwynn, also somewhat of a free-lance—as its spokesmen in Parliament, it ventured to give much unsolicited advice to the Party as to policy. "Concentrate on Home Rule. Never mind unessentials"—a formula invented by Rory O'Connor—was its most constant cry. More spectacular and active policies were advocated by others of its members such as Gerald O'Byrne, who had just returned from Germany, with his head full of the Romantic movement—but who was saved from being too absurd by his sense of humour and the presence of more balanced minds such as John O'Byrne and Timothy Mangan.

The importunate advice of the youthful Branch naturally cost it its freedom of the League rooms, and so it had to seek quarters elsewhere, sometimes in the Antient Concert Rooms, but more generally in the



Students' Social Club in 41 Dawson Street. Though, being political, it could not meet at the College or the School, it enjoyed the favour—and subscriptions—of some of the Cecilia Street Staff, notably Drs. Roche, Coffey, and McLoughlin.

A few days before the National Convention, which had been summoned to discuss Birrell's Council Bill, was to take place in June 1907, a meeting of the Y.I.B. was summoned to select delegates. At it Rory O'Connor carried his favourite resolution that nothing short of Home Rule should be taken into consideration by the Party. This rather annoyed Redmond, who was in favour of accepting the Council Bill, and indeed was said to have come over with a speech in its favour ready written. He therefore sent Joe Devlin on the eve of the Convention to chide and convert the callow statesmen. Devlin was—as was stated by some of those who were present on the interesting occasion—brought round nearly if not quite to the view of the Branch. Whether this really contributed to the result of the Convention on the morrow when Redmond, keeping his speech in his pocket, summed up against the Council Bill, cannot, of course, be known for certain; but that it did so contribute the Branch afterwards was instant in claiming.

It is interesting to note that Pearse, then editor of the *Claidheamh Soluis*, was in favour of accepting the Council Bill, because he thought it would work to the advantage of the language.

Two years afterwards the Y.I.B. pushed the policy of advising and criticising the Party still further—so far that its delegates were booed and bludgeoned

down at the Convention (afterwards known as the "Baton Convention") which was held in February 1909 to discuss Birrell's Land Bill.

The *Nationist* ceased to appear after March 1906; and mention may be made here of another weekly carried on by Frank Skeffington. Not being quite satisfied with Kettle's prescription for the ills of the nation, he compounded a slightly different mixture in the *National Democrat*, which continued for a short period after July 1906. His brightly written "Dialogues of the Day" (between the Curate, the Bookman, the Politician, etc.) had a certain vogue. Begun in the *Nationist*, they were continued in his own paper; and, on its demise, were brought out as flying-sheets.

#### 5.—*The Essential Irish Controversy.*

Amid the rejoicings, general and vociferous, which greeted the final passing of the National University Act in 1908, some voices of misgiving were to be heard: What would be the attitude of the Gaelic League?

This organization had been growing apace in strength and boldness, and had lately been asserting that the new University should require the study of Irish by all its students. Did not this portend trouble? Only a few people thought so. As yet the Leaguers formed a small proportion of the people; their resolutions were taken merely to indicate an ideal; their voices would not be heard on the academic heights of the Senate; such a technical matter as the

arrangement of courses was not likely to set the country by the ears.

Before long, however, a spark was struck which set up a conflagration all over Ireland. It was in University College, Dublin, that it was struck, the steel being Father Delany, the flint being the Irish Society of the College, and the tinder, lying everywhere about the country, being the branches of the Gaelic League. On the 29th Novemembr, 1908, the Irish Society held its Inaugural. T. P. O'Nowlan, F.R.U.I., had written a paper for the occasion on "The Relation of Irish to the New University," but as he fell sick, his paper was read by James Doyle. All the Gaels of the College and the chief ones of the city were present. The paper was a quiet and scholarly one, not a bit inflammatory, merely establishing the value of the language to the nation; and its conclusion, that Irish should be an integral part of any National University curriculum, was also expressed on a quiet note. This note was immediately taken up and struck more vigorously by the speakers who followed, Pádraig O Dálaigh (Secretary of the Gaelic League), Miss Una Ni Fhearallaigh, and Dr. McHenry. Father Delany was then asked by John McNeill, who was presiding, if he cared to speak.

He had not intended to do so, but felt that, if he remained silent after the speeches just made, he might be taken as being in accord with them. He said, therefore, that with everything in the paper he agreed heartily, except with the last word. He would give Irish a privileged, a predominant place in the University, but would stop there. To make it

compulsory would be harmful to the University and the country, and would be a violation of the Senate's duty to make the University a National one and not a sectional one.

That his speech would be unpopular he knew—how unpopular it was his audience quickly made plain—but he probably had no notion that it would produce the effect which it did. For it was, as was generally agreed subsequently, the real cause of the agitation which then set in.

Yet it was not the speech itself which had this effect, but rather the clear light it threw on the probable action of the Senate, with which, of course, lay the final decision of the matter. There was not a man in the hall who did not know that the President had been uniformly friendly to the cause of the language; that he had engaged, out of College funds, John McNeill and Pádraig Pearse and James Clandillon to teach classes of Irish—non-examination ones, too; and had supported the Irish School of Learning, giving it a home in the College. If, then, the green wood was to flare up so, how much more would the dry? For, among the Senators of the new University who had been appointed in the preceding April, there were, besides McNeill and Hyde, only four or five who had ever shown favour to the language. Consequently, all the Gaels present realized for the first time, when listening to this speech, how precarious were their hopes. Only by vigorous and instant agitation could the danger be averted.

Though Pearse and McNeill, both evidently grieved at having to oppose Fr. Delany, answered his argu-

ments there and then, the gauntlet thrown down by him was not formally taken up until a week later at a meeting in the Rotunda presided over by the Lord Mayor.<sup>8</sup> There the whole case for essential Irish was stated and defended by Dr. Douglas Hyde, John McNeill, Arthur Griffith, and many others.

The next day began the newspaper storm which was to rage without intermission for about eighteen months. In the history of Irish journalism there never had been such a rush of letters, sometimes filling three columns of the *Freeman*, not to speak of other papers.

On the Irish side the Gaelic Leaguers were naturally the most numerous and active, but besides them, many unexpected recruits announced themselves. Most remarkable of all, perhaps—though no one noticed him at the time—was Roger Casement. “If our University,” he wrote, “is going to look on Irish as an inferior tongue, she will deserve the lonely untenanted fate of the ‘Informer’s House’ which we all know so well, standing dreary and desolate with a price on her head which no Irishmen will pay, by the sloblands of Clontarf. The University can be National only by being Irish. That the difficulties to be faced in so making it are insurmountable I for one do not believe”—words which show that Casement, even before he rescued the Putomayo rubber-slaves, had awakened to the oppression of his own land. Other notable accessions to the “compulsion” cause were Mr. Andrew Kettle, speaking for a parliamentary generation almost passed away; John Sweetman, for

<sup>8</sup> Held upon December 8th.

the Griffith Party; Ronayne, for the old Catholic University; and Pokorny and de Tailleur, for foreign scholarship. Nearly all the disputants from University College were for the active policy; Arthur Clery, Joseph Dolan, and many others—with, however, one notable exception, Francis Sheehy-Skeffington. Ever peculiar in view, he held that to call for compulsion was to admit that the demand for Irish was mostly insincere. And we have seen that he was constantly out of sympathy with the Gaelic League.

Numerous and lively, also, were the hosts of the libertarians. One of their doughtiest champions among the Catholic clergy was Father Humphries of Killenaule, whose thorny shillelagh crashed against the weighty truncheon of Dr. Michael O'Hickey of Maynooth. Dr. McWalter's fecund imagination and rapid dialectic also greatly rejoiced his side. On the other hand, the President of University College came in, as might be expected, for many hard knocks. On the very day after the Irish Society Inaugural the attack was opened on him by Pádraig O'Duffy, and was followed up almost daily—with, of course, many references to the police incident referred to in another chapter. Indeed, so bitter were the attacks on him that T. P. O'Nowlan and Dr. Sigerson in their letters, and John McNeill in his masterly pamphlet, *Irish in the National University*, entered a protest. Abuse, especially undeserved abuse, only spoiled, they said, a good cause. Past services to the language were reasons, not for greater bitterness, but for stronger argument.

On the 20th January, 1909, appeared the Bishops'

resolutions. They looked forward to the day when Irish would be the current speech of Ireland; but this happy day would be better hastened by a voluntary policy and the creation of "bright centres" of Irish studies. So little of a calming effect had this declaration that, a fortnight afterwards, what seemed to be the whole population of University College and Cecilia Street went down to a big meeting in the Mansion House, where Dr. Hyde's eloquence had the whole assembly seething with enthusiasm after a few minutes. A "compulsory" resolution proposed by Mr. MacCartan of Cecilia Street, and seconded by Mr. Michael Kelly of King's Inns, was passed with acclamation after speeches from P. O'Beirne, J. J. Molloy, Pat O'Toole, T. Dillon (College of Science), Miss L. Gavan Duffy, and Miss E. Nicholls. T. Bodkin asked leave to explain the "voluntary" case, but was not allowed; he could do so, he was told, at a debate to be held shortly afterwards at the College.

Then the whole gathering formed into a great procession, and with bands and flaming torches and banners inscribed "No Irish, No Students, No University," "Whipped Curs," and other appropriate mottoes, marched to the Gaelic League offices in O'Connell Street, where more speeches were made in the open air. Though the majority of the Cecilia Street students, organized by Seumas O'Kelly, Frank Ferran, and O'Sullivan, were on the "compulsory" side, there was evidently a considerable minority against it, for seventy-four names—many certainly those of good Irishmen—were attached to a counter-resolution and published in the papers.

That the movement was not merely a students' one was made clear the next day (10th February, 1909) at the National Convention, where the plea, made by John Dillon, Leader of the Irish Party, for a "voluntary" policy was shouted down, and Dr. Hyde received a tremendous acclamation.

During all the remaining months of the year and the early ones of the next,<sup>9</sup> the agitation went on in full swing; pleas, petitions, resolutions, pouring in on the newly constituted Senate. Strongest of all the arguments were, however, the resonant ones which the County Councils had it in their power to advance. By these Councils, and finally by the General Council of County Councils, the new Senate, from its very first meeting in January 1909, was being warned that scholarships in plenty would be available for the University, but—not a single penny unless Irish were made an essential subject.

During the whole of these eighteen tumultuous months, no one had any means of judging whether all the breath and ink and even the jingle of proffered cash was taking effect. Most of those who had in their hands the settling of the matter, the Senators and University Professors needed conversion. Were they coming round? It was impossible to say. They were lying low. They can hardly have felt any call to join Father Delany on his martyr's pyre. If they would have to mount it, the later the better; and, if

<sup>9</sup> This period carries us beyond the actual existence of the old University College and University, the decision of the controversy appertaining to the New System. But we make no apology for finishing the story of the contest, which is in every sense concerned with the personnel and the policy of the old College.



they mounted it all together, it would be the less uncomfortable.

The procedure to be followed in settling the question was to be its discussion, firstly by the Board of Studies, then by the three Academic Councils, and finally by the Senate. Only in April 1910 were all these bodies established and ready to work. It was thought better to proceed by degrees; to settle first the courses for the transitory period of 1911-12, and then the permanent courses.

When the question came before it, the Board of Studies suggested a *via media*. No subject should be obligatory at Matriculation in 1911; but those students who did not take Irish at Matriculation should be bound to attend a course of lectures in Irish Language and History during their second and third years. This non-examination course, called "Windle Irish," after the name of its proposer, was widely welcomed; by the "essential" people as a first step to their final object; and by the others as a measure likely to weaken the agitation.

There was a marked difference in the treatment of the Board of Studies' suggestion by the three Academic Councils. The Dublin one, after rejecting—but only by one vote, and that a casting vote—a resolution to make Irish obligatory for 1911-2, finally contented itself with adopting the "Windle" proposal, but with the addition that these extra-courses should be followed "to the satisfaction of the Professor." Cork and Galway Academic Councils said nothing of the "Windle Course," simply recommending that no subject should be obligatory at the 1911-2 Matricula-

tions. The Senate, on the motion of John McNeill, seconded by Dr. Coffey, adopted the suggestions of the Dublin Academic Council by eighteen votes to seventeen.

Thus the Gaelic League had won the preliminary round. Now remained the real issue: was Irish to be essential from 1913 on? The Board of Studies, having advanced far in the meantime, assented. So, too, the Academic Council of University College, Dublin, by a large majority, but Cork and Galway rejected the proposal. When the decisive day (23rd June, 1910) came on, the Senate again followed the lead of the Dublin Academic Council; and the motion of Dr. Hyde for essential Irish, seconded by Dr. Conway, was passed by twenty-one votes to twelve, numbers which show how considerably the Senate had changed in opinion since its last meeting.

This was the end of the "essential Irish" struggle in regard to the University. It was plainly the determination of the country at large to make the University thoroughly Irish—and not to support it if it were not—which had decided the day. Most certainly, not all the majority of twenty-one loved the language for its own sake; equally certain it is that not all the minority of twelve were unfriendly towards its study. It was a case where popular feeling proved itself stronger—many will think wiser—than abstract academic thought.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

### *Impressions of Sarsfield Kerrigan, M.B., B.Ch.*

I speak of the College as I knew it first in October 1901, a year that marked an extreme negative phase in Irish politics. Parnell was ten years dead, and to our generation he was already but a name and a memory. The Irish Party, which had barely succeeded in repairing a front shattered by the Split that followed his death, saw its prospects definitely eclipsed by the return of a strong Conservative Government in 1895 and 1900; and in spite of the rearguard action it maintained at Westminster, had, at best, a sympathy rather than an active following amongst the students.

The newer and more active gospel of Nationalism preached by Arthur Griffith in the *United Irishman* from 1899 on, which in after years many of our students were to take such a part in making effectual, had not yet time to leaven thought, except, perhaps, in the Medical School, where National thought was always more democratic and more assertive than in the College. Even in the tragic years that followed the Split, when the Irish Party was in the desert, the School continued to show instances of its intense national feeling as in the Jubilee Year of 1897, and in 1898, the centenary year of the Rebellion.

In comparison with the Medical School the feeling in University College, as I remember it, was strangely non-political; and I cannot help being struck with the contrast between the political atmosphere in the year I entered it, and the record made by many of its

students in our later history. The absence of a more definite atmosphere may be explained in that the College kept a certain conservatism, Catholic rather than national, associated with it since its foundation by Newman—a conservatism that was inevitable perhaps in a centre of learning recruited from a wide and scattered area of Catholic students, some from colleges where national sympathies were, at least, suspect. In any case, the enforced *mariage de convenance* with the Royal University, certainly the absence of a complete residential system, made for a kind of compulsory neutrality that gave the College no chance to show itself as Nationalist as Trinity was Unionist.

In 1899, however, a full year before my entrance, an event had occurred that was fated to bring national thought in the College in line with the new ideas. The Gaelic League, previous to this date, was a somewhat obscure organization quartered in rather dingy rooms in O'Connell Street—something that was more a hope than an active movement. To bring its activities into a wider front it started a class for students of the College. The class was a small one of less than a dozen, and included Mary Cleary, Louis J. Walsh, and his sister (afterwards Mrs. Concannon), Seumas Clandillon, Patrick Merriman, George Clancy, J. O'Reilly, and Patrick O'Doherty.

It was taught by a pale young University man in pince-nez, to most of those who knew him a student and a dreamer, who dreamt of a new Gaelic world and a new Gaelic civilization—one whom few could visualize as the man who would die one day before a firing-squad as the first President of the Irish

Republic.<sup>10</sup> His name was Patrick H. Pearse. His class was the leavening of a new thought—and, it may be added, owing to his personal idealism, the baptism of the Irish movement that from 1900 on was beginning to take a firm and definite shape in the College.

The new movement was the play of many converging forces. The Local Government Board Act, passed by Gerald Balfour in 1898 “to kill Home Rule by kindness,” proved a political boomerang. In making the new local Councils national, it broke the Grand Jury monopoly, and gave our professional students, hitherto meant for export, a chance of a living in their own country. Even the newly-formed Department of Agriculture, interpreted then as a wonderful measure of beneficent and sympathetic legislation, contributed to this in opening up greater possibilities to people that had recently got a grip on their holdings during the Land Campaign. And the new scheme of Technical Instruction brought it into more intimate touch with the College through many of the Professors and students, and particularly in the association of Father T. A. Finlay and William P. Coyne, one of our most brilliant students, whose work, *Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural*, published in 1902, has been unrivalled and has formed since a comprehensive record of our national resources and possibilities, a splendid index of the new attitude of his University contemporaries to the country.

The mainspring of the new movement, however, was certainly the Gaelic League, which was now succeed-

<sup>10</sup> More precisely of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. (See *War News*, April, 1916.). [Ed.]

ing in focusing the minds of a people wearied and disillusioned by politics to that greater conception of nationhood which they had lost since Davis's day. The language movement was taken up with all the enthusiasm of a new idea, and with it the question of Irish literature, Irish music, sports, and manufacture. It was helped by two weekly papers, the *United Irishman*, which had outlined it first, but in a way too militant to make much headway at the time except amongst a few; and by the *Leader*, which by treating the anti-Catholic bigotry, the snobbery, anti-nationalism, and political insincerities of our people to a drum-fire of ridicule and criticism, gave the movement the popular and active shape it took in the College.

It was a matter of honour to wear Irish clothes, to write on Irish paper, to smoke Irish tobacco, and to play hurley instead of football. At the yearly Language Procession, held on the Sunday preceding St. Patrick's Day, the students of the College took their place, almost to a man, under the Irish poplin banner and bannerettes, bearing the device of the College and the School in Gaelic. These were presented to the students by Dr. Denis J. Coffey, Professor of Physiology, and always the students' Professor, who was then the most earnest and enthusiastic patron of the Gaelic Revival in the School. Apart from his influence in the Language movement, to which most of his students responded splendidly, and his lectures on the history and antiquities of Ireland, he was always foremost in encouraging Gaelic games, and the Hurling Club which was started in 1901 kept uniformly alive to the end of the College.

In the College we had at our Irish Concerts songs by Seumas Clandillon, with Owen L. Lloyd on the harp and Arthur Darley on the violin; and lectures on our history and our antiquities by Dr. Sigerson, Father Hogan, Dr. George Coffey, and others, which were enthusiastically attended; and under Seumas O'Kelly, Harold McCarthy, and Con Dennehy, we had a little Irish-speaking coterie. It was a staying period in our national development that was best described by Paul Dubois in the title of the first of the series of articles that appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, which gave the movement European publicity: "Le Recueillement de l'Irlande."

It was in every sense a *recueillement*—a pulling together of ourselves for greater things to come. It was a movement so internal in its relation to Ireland that it could not in any way be defined in terms of politics, as we knew them then. Any political change had to come through a Conservative Government, which let it be known that while it was prepared to legislate paternally for Ireland, there was, in spite of flirtations with Devolution and Federalism, to be no whisper of Home Rule, which was supposed to have definitely died with Gladstone.

From 1901 till 1903 the Irish Ireland movement in the College, conscious of its latent strength, had a wonderfully detached view towards current politics. When King Edward VII came to Ireland in 1903, and was, on the whole, quite well received, the event excited little interest amongst us. And when the Wyndham Land Act, which was lauded by William O'Brien as the great solvent of all our issues, was

passed in that year, we took it as a thing that had to happen—nothing more.

From 1904 on, opinion on Irish lines was definitely hardening. There was, I remember, a meeting held early in that year to discuss the question of a Dublin Exhibition to be held in 1907; and the question of whether it was to be a purely National or International one became acute. At one meeting (held, I think, in the Mansion House) the gallery was packed by students—mainly from Cecilia Street—who were intense in their demand that it should be purely National. They were expelled as a defeated, though in their own minds a triumphant, minority; and the promise to boycott the undertaking made outside the meeting was effectively carried out when the Exhibition was held in 1907.

The main event of this year, however, was the publication by Arthur Griffith in his paper of the well-known series of articles on the “Resurrection of Hungary.” These succeeded in transforming what was until then a temper of mind into a political movement which was specially meant to appeal to the imagination of Irish students; and in Cecilia Street it was taken up with all the fervour of a new idea. The time was not yet ripe to put it upon a working basis; and it was only in 1905 when the First Sinn Féin Council met that it could really be said to have a beginning. In that year politics in Ireland got a new feeling of activity. The Gaelic movement had extended to Queen’s College, Belfast, where Frank Ferran had started a Gaelic Society and brought into it all that was best in Ulster Liberal thought in the College;



students like Laurence Lynd, May McConnell (now Mrs. Desmond Fitzgerald), Charles Dickson, and Davey. In the autumn of this year Patrick McCartan and some other students entered Cecilia Street as strong protagonists of the new Sinn Féin policy. It was, however, the feeling that in the coming political struggle the old machinery of the Irish Party would be more effective in holding the strategic balance of power in the coming election than the new "Hungarian" Party, that suggested to T. M. Kettle, one of the most brilliant students of the College, to found that year the Young Ireland Branch of the United Irish League. He had a right to do so as the son of Andrew Kettle, if he had not a greater one in his own splendid intellect. The object of the Branch was to bring the younger generation into closer touch with the Parliamentary Party, with which it had lost touch since the 'eighties.

The Liberal sweep in the elections of 1906, at which Tom Kettle was elected for East Tyrone, gave the Irish Party a presumably preponderating influence of which much was expected. The honours of the game were supposed to lie in their hands; so much so as to make the student mind, hitherto largely non-political in outlook, frankly expect a definite political settlement on the lines of Parliamentary Home Rule. But 1906 passed without any development on Irish national lines, except that a Home Rule Bill was promised for 1907. Then came Birrell's Irish Council Bill—a sort of magnified Parish Pump Committee that the Irish Party were forced to accept, or rather tried to have accepted to save their face at the Convention that

followed. They failed, and that incident marked a phase which made many of our students lukewarm in sympathy towards the Irish Party for years to come.

In opposition to the Y.I.B's, as they were known in the College, another Society started at the same time in the Medical School. This was the Dungannon Club, the first branch of which had been founded in Belfast; and it represented the student effort to keep in active touch with another phase of the political movement. The temper of it was not only Sinn Féin, in the terms that that policy was defined at the first Convention, but even separatist; and many of its members took a prominent part afterwards in the struggle from 1916 to 1921. It trusted for its main propaganda to the success of the new Sinn Féin daily paper. With the collapse of the latter, however, and the further defeat of the first official candidate at the Leitrim election, the Dungannon Club ceased to be an active movement. From the end of 1907 its place was taken by the Cumann Náisiúnta na Mac Léighinn—the Students' National Literary Society, which met at Parnell Square. The Cumann Náisiúnta bridged over the period between the last days of the College and the first days of the "National." Less political in outlook than the Dungannon Club, it made an appeal on broad lines to the National student body in Dublin, and included ladies in its membership. From the first it counted amongst its members many of the younger students of the College, earnest enthusiasts of the language movement—indeed strong advocates of Essential Irish, whose names were to be prominently associated with our political history within the next

ten years. During the later period the march of events gave the students of the National University a chance of active partnership in the affairs of the nation, which was denied to the College students of my time. But the impulse that urged the Volunteer movement was at bottom the Irish-Ireland spirit, which in its earlier period, had no atmosphere so sympathetic and encouraging to its development as that familiar to us in the College of those days on which we now look back as days of such happy memory.

S. K.

## CHAPTER XIV.

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PERIOD OF UNIVERSITY REORGANIZATION.



## PERIOD OF UNIVERSITY REORGANIZATION.

WE have now to consider the last period of University College, Dublin, a period which formally commenced with the New Century, although the unrest which characterized it was not very noticeable till within three or four years of the end, which came in 1909.

We shall first consider the external events which led up to the reconstruction of the College under a real and reformed University; and then the reactions caused in the interior life of the College by the approaching changes.

Two Royal Commissions had been appointed to examine and report upon Higher Education in Ireland, and in a sense they were complementary and, if taken together, give a complete purview of the situation. The Robertson Commission (1901-3) was to deal with everything except Trinity College; and the Fry Commission (1906) with nothing except Trinity College. During these years and down to 1908 there was raging a perfect storm of controversy, and of a most complicated character, not as to the need of reform—there was practically agreement now about that—but as to whether Trinity College, or at least the University of Dublin, should be included in any new arrangement or should be left severely alone. With regard to the earlier Commission in which Trinity College was expressly excluded from the Reference,

there was some little uncertainty in the minds of the Commissioners as to whether this exclusion extended to the University of Dublin as distinct from the College, but in practice the more rigid, and we must add more natural, interpretation was followed. The Report, therefore, assumed that the Reference confined their labours to the Royal University and Colleges connected with it. But this view left them plenty of work, and it must be admitted that they did it fully and well. The later Fry Commission proved to be in regard of its consequences equally crucial; but it was the Robertson Commission that did the spade work, or, to change the metaphor, cleared the air. It was a larger Commission and lasted for three times as long as the later one. Lord Robertson, a Scottish Lord of Appeal, was a clear-headed and apparently fair-minded Chairman; not, of course, a specialist, but then he was assisted by men of singular eminence in the learned world—Professors Jebb, Butcher, and Rhys from Cambridge and Oxford; Mr. Justice Madden and Dr. Starkie from Trinity College; Wilfred Ward, who had been an Examiner in the Royal University; and the Senator Archbishop Healy, who was supposed to act in some sense as representative of the Irish Hierarchy.

The final Report, said to have been drafted in great part by Sir Richard Jebb, is certainly a masterly document and must have influenced thoughtful minds; but its practical effect was marred by the lack of unanimity disclosed by the several appended Riders of those who signed it.

Yet the solution recommended in the Report, namely

the reconstruction of the Royal as a teaching University, with a new College in Dublin linked to the Queen's Colleges, is very near the scheme afterwards followed—which has been admittedly a signal success. The advantage of separating the Belfast College and making of it an entirely new University—that is, the plan ultimately adopted—could be disputed on mere academical grounds; but in view of Northern Ireland becoming subsequently a distinct political entity, it has turned out to be probably a wiser arrangement than the one proposed by the Robertson Commission.

There is much in the Report which bears more or less directly upon our subject, and we propose to quote from it. It commences with a full review of the arrangements regarding the recognized Colleges and especially the Dublin College, which we need not repeat as the subject is dealt with above.<sup>1</sup> The existing character of the University itself is strongly condemned as one resting upon an unsound basis. It must, however, be remarked that the point of view of the Commissioners is from the standard of ideal justice, and in this sense no one was inclined to defend the existing situation. What, however, was not always borne in mind by critics of the Royal University and its policy was that neither the University nor its founders created the situation and the evils inherent in it. The whole system was never regarded nor could be regarded as more than palliative, a half measure, a something intended to pave the way for a more complete and fair-all-round arrangement than it could

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. V., pp. 132 *sq.*



pretend to supply. Read in this sense, the following passage may be thoroughly approved and commended:

University College, Dublin, having no direct endowments from the State, is allotted by way of equivalent, no less than fifteen out of twenty-nine Fellowships, each of £400 a year, which carry with them the duties of University examinerships. *This arrangement is in no way due to partial treatment by the State, but flows as an obvious consequence from the principle of indirect endowment already explained.*<sup>2</sup> The preponderance of one College on the Board of Examiners is not indeed as great as this fact in itself would indicate, for in addition to the Fellows there are some forty other Examiners (exclusive of Juniors and Medical Fellows); yet the marked inequality has given rise to much comment, and, it would seem, to some soreness of feeling. [Here follows a reference to the Catholic School of Medicine.] Both in Arts and Medicine there is a prevailing belief that the method of allocating Examinerships has given to certain institutions an unfair advantage over the others. This is probably true, though *no suspicion of partiality has been cast upon the teachers.*<sup>2</sup> The absence, moreover, of Extern Examiners, unconnected with any of the rival institutions, heightens the sense of mistrust. Hence we have the spectacle of an examining University which fails to exhibit the one virtue which is associated with a University of the kind—that of inspiring public confidence in its examination results.

Our view is then that the above extract from the Report is absolutely just, and as a criticism of the Royal University system obviously true. But although desirous of avoiding anything that might appear to be controversial, as a matter of history there are two points which we think it necessary to note. In the first place the defects so ably indicated in the Report as inherent in the existing system, were as much

<sup>2</sup> Our italics : the passages are clearly important.

deplored in University College as out of it. We shall have to return to this topic. The second point, which is much more serious, relates to the actual conduct of the examinations. Although the Report states definitely that the Commission had found no suspicion of partiality regarding the examiners, yet certain critics of the Royal University had used such strong language on this subject as (we believe unintentionally) to convey the impression that examiners did favour their own candidates at the expense of others. This was deplorable, because as a general assertion it was palpably untrue. To say that during long years never by any exception had an examiner forgotten his duty would be an absurd and unbelievable proposition. But we are discussing systematic action, and so were the Commissioners. Another important extract, appertaining to this subject more or less directly, must be given here:

The one College—University College, Dublin—which meets with the entire approval of the Roman Catholic Church, is crippled on the side of the practical sciences. It has no funds for the equipment of laboratories, and of all that the prosecution of these studies demands. This is more to be regretted, as this College, in spite of very limited resources, has maintained its teaching up to a high academical standard in the department of Arts.

It will hardly be out of place to continue our extracts from the Report by giving a fine passage which deals from a more general point of view with the weakness of the Royal University system. The Report proceeds:

Apart from internal defects of organization, the Royal University has brought about the result which was doubtless unforeseen by its founders. It has

seriously impaired the value of University education. . . . Any reform that is to be of permanent value must be such as to foster again the old academical idea. A University is not a warehouse receiving an assortment of goods and testing whether they are up to sample. It has a double function. One is the discovery of new truths. The other, and primary function, is to supply trained intelligence which shall stimulate and guide the mind of the student along various lines of intellectual inquiry. A University helps to form a mental habit and attitude; it seeks to impart philosophic breadth and grasp; it lays down the principles of learning, and unifies knowledge. To test results is an accident, an inseparable accident perhaps, but not of the essence of a University. In Ireland the sense of Collegiate life, outside Trinity College, Dublin, needs to be restored. . . . A Professor feels that his College is not a College of the University, but one of many rival institutions bound together by a cast-iron framework of examinations. If the Colleges are still to subsist in any relation to a common University, they must take their parts as organic parts of that University. The interchange of ideas between teachers of different departments, and even of different Colleges, will, we may hope, then be quickened, and the feeling revived that the members of a University form a Corporation of Learning. To the students the decay of the old academic principle has been an incalculable loss. Private study and private "coaching" lack the very elements which confer on University education its ideal value—the personal intercourse between teacher and pupil—outside the classroom, the comradeship and *esprit de corps* of collegiate life; the generous rivalries of the Field or the Debating Society; the contact of minds and the play of intellect; in a word, all that full and varied existence which remains a cherished possession in after days. If there is any country in which it appears unnatural to discourage this particular factor of University life, it is Ireland, where social and human influences enter so largely into the best qualities of the race.

In regard to this view of University life the Commissioners made the further important statement:

We have had ample evidence that the Professors themselves are keenly alive to the depressing influence exercised by the new (that is, the existing) conditions.

We have given the above passages not merely for their own value; but they seem to supply the most crucial form of test for judging the work done by the Dublin College, taking its career as a whole. We hope that this volume will help future generations of Irishmen to ask, and to answer, the following questions:—“Did University College according to its capacity try to live up to the ideals inculcated in the Robertson Report, ideals which were clearly enunciated by Newman when founding the Catholic University?” Again, “Did the course taken by the College during its history actually pave the way for the re-establishment of a true University system in Ireland?”

We have also dwelt on this Report because there can be no reasonable doubt that although it failed to produce an immediate result, its enforcement of principles materially assisted to make up people's minds as to the necessity of some drastic reform, and even of the particular reform which ultimately prevailed.

The scheme proposed was “to do directly and sufficiently what is now done circuitously in method and meanly in amount,” in other words, to give University College a real and proper endowment.

Yet nothing followed. Though the case was now recognised to be urgent, half a decade of years elapsed before any of its recommendations were put into practice.

We have already indicated that the cause of this

failure was the want of real unanimity of those who signed the Report. They agreed on the principles, but not on the application of them. The root causes of dissent were twofold, Trinity College, Dublin, and Maynooth. With regards to the former one Commissioner hints in his note that it would be impolitic to "prejudicially affect" the University of Dublin; another writes: "I anticipate that the scheme proposed will injuriously affect the interest of the University of Dublin." A third, "No solution of the University Question in Ireland can be satisfactory which leaves out of consideration what ought to be the National University of Ireland," that is, the University of Dublin. On the other hand Archbishop Healy appended a note that he was dissatisfied that the Report "made no provision for bringing the large body of Arts students in Maynooth College within the University system." In making this objection it was widely assumed that the Archbishop was expressing the views of the Irish Bishops.

But what was most fatal was that the Chairman, though signing the Report and believing that the scheme embodied therein is "the best adapted to the complicated situation to which it is applied," yet could not concur in the recommendation to so apply it in practice. Besides objections which he calls political, he also believes that the scheme would not satisfy "those who determine Roman Catholic opinion," and he adds that most authoritative opinions to the contrary have been expressed. This must refer at least principally to the position taken up by Archbishop Walsh, who objected to the reconstruction of the

Royal University or to any scheme which would leave the University of Dublin untouched—unless indeed a new strictly Catholic University were to be created.

Therefore the Robertson Commission outwardly failed; and its one important result appeared to be that it had brought the question of Trinity College to the front and had thus enlarged the outlook of men's minds on the whole problem of University education in Ireland.

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When the Liberals came into power two years later than the Report, i.e. at the end of 1905, Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Bryce, as Irish Chief Secretary took up the matter. The feeling was growing in favour of a large reconstruction, and Lord Dunraven,<sup>3</sup> one of the most eminent and popular of living Irishmen, had written a letter to the Press in January 1904, in favour of the scheme which bore his name (though it had also been advocated some months previously by Mr. Wyndham, the Conservative Chief Secretary). The Dunraven Scheme proposed to unite under the single University of Dublin all the University Colleges of the country, including not only the Queen's Colleges,<sup>4</sup> but also a new Catholic College in Dublin. The

<sup>3</sup> The Under-Secretary, Sir Anthony (afterwards Lord) MacDonnell, who had graduated from Queen's College, Galway, in 1864, was a very strong advocate of the Dunraven scheme. He no doubt had persuaded his Chief to take it up as he did.

<sup>4</sup> In our account of the controversy we shall omit any special reference to discussion about the Queen's Colleges, in order to concentrate attention upon our proper theme which is the education of Irish Catholics as affected by, or as affecting, the College in Dublin. As a matter of fact in the controversies regarding suggested schemes of reform, it was this topic only which aroused excitement in this country, and to some extent in the British Parliament.

proposal evoked much enthusiasm among Catholics, especially those of them who were directly or indirectly connected with Trinity College or who looked to it with longing eyes. A memorial approving the Scheme was immediately signed by over 250 Catholic laymen, most of whom were men of standing in their different professions, and not a few were persons of real distinction and influence.

Mr. Bryce, in view of the interest which Lord Dunraven's Scheme had aroused, decided that the time had come to reopen the question on new lines, and persuaded the Cabinet to appoint another Royal Commission which should supplement the former one and do what it had been prohibited from undertaking. This decision was more easy of adoption by the Liberals than by their predecessors. Although politics were not spoken of in the controversy, it is just as well to remember that the Conservatives at this period had been at the mercy of the Irish Protestant faction, in whose eyes to touch Trinity College would have been sacrilege.

The Fry Commission was appointed on June 5, 1906, and got through its work quickly, as the Report was signed upon January 12, 1907. The Chairman was Sir Edward Fry, later Lord Justice of Appeal, an Oxford man and a member of a well-known Quaker family. Among the Commissioners were Chief Baron Palles; also Professors Jackson and Butcher, Cambridge, who were both in active sympathy with the Catholic claims; on the Catholic and National side Drs. Coffey and Douglas Hyde; and as representing Trinity College itself, Mr. S. B. Kelleher, F.T.C.D.

There were but two others, both Englishmen, and the Commission was much smaller than that of Lord Robertson. It was stated in the Warrant that the new Commission was complementary to the previous one, and a direction was given not to take evidence upon matters already inquired into and reported upon.

Thus the Reference was comparatively narrow, although as regards Trinity College it had a two-fold function, first to report upon its existing internal organization and efficiency, and secondly upon its relation to the University question.

Other schemes of reform, namely, those which would leave Trinity untouched, were outside the Reference; but the Commissioners decided that they were "bound to consider them in their general features though not in detail, because should they appear to be the most expedient and reasonable solution, it would be impossible to recommend as proper some scheme less beneficent" (i.e. a scheme affecting Trinity College).

When the work was got through and the Final Report issued, it was found that of thirty-three General Conclusions and Recommendations, only five related to the remedying of the Catholic grievance. The major part of the Report, therefore, as only concerning reforms in the internal government of Trinity College does not fall within our scope.

The Commission found it even less possible to agree in recommending a policy than did their predecessors. In the Report they can only say that, "while they are divided in regard to the various schemes proposed involving the creation of a new College in Dublin



acceptable to Roman Catholics, they, with one exception,<sup>5</sup> recommend the establishment of such a College. The Notes appended to the Report, however, which are, taken together, considerably longer than the Report, deal almost exclusively with the controversy as to the propriety of constituting a new College in Dublin University. The Chairman, together with Professor Butcher and Sir Arthur Rücker, were entirely opposed to this solution on the ground that "it would be a dangerous experiment to deprive Trinity College of its ancient character of independence and to convert it into a mere College of a University of a different character," and again it would be to subject the College to a "cruel experience." Also in their lengthy note they quote Dr. Delany, "the most important witness we have had before us as a representative of the higher Roman Catholic Education"; the late Monsignor Molloy, who had sent a long communication to the Press shortly before his death; and the Archbishop of Tuam, who said that with one possible exception<sup>6</sup> he represented the entire Episcopate of Ireland—all tending to prove that the erection of a new College in the University of Dublin was not the proposal most acceptable to the Catholic body. These Commissioners also strongly maintained that the arrangement could not be expected to work smoothly, but would lead to the acutest animosity between Colleges so linked together.

On the other hand Chief Baron Palles, Professor Jackson, and Drs. Coffey and Douglas Hyde, along

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Kelleher.

<sup>6</sup> This must, of course, refer to Dr. Walsh, who was then Archbishop of Dublin.

with Sir T. Raleigh, in still longer Notes advocated the plan—with a difference, however. Professor Jackson, whose opinion carried great weight, while believing the Dunraven Scheme to be the best, considered in itself, yet appended a Note saying “while those who would have to live and work under the Scheme are thus hostile to it, I do not think myself warranted in recommending an immediate attempt to carry it into effect: in my judgment an institution so started would be heavily weighted, and failure would be disastrous.” Whereas Drs. Coffey and Hyde declared in a special Note that they were “not opposed to an arrangement by which there would be two Universities in Dublin,” in so far weakening their adhesion to the Dunraven Scheme. And we have already related that Mr. Kelleher would leave things as they are.

Therefore we conclude that the Commission could not have been further than they were from agreement on the main topic of their Reference. In fact they were quite as much divided into two opposing camps as were the representatives of the Irish Catholic body, and even in a less marked degree the staff of Trinity College itself. So the controversy went on.

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With regard to the Catholics, on the one hand were ranged the Committee of Catholic Laymen, to be referred to below, who were by no means without influence and were extremely zealous and argumentative; Chief Baron Palles, an undeniably supreme representative of the lay Catholic body; and, last but not least, the Archbishop of Dublin, who was in favour

of the Dunraven Scheme, at least in so far as it affected the University of Dublin.

On the opposite side was Father Delany with the whole Senate of the Royal University at his back, including Sir Christopher Nixon, both Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University and Dean of the Catholic Medical School; Archbishop Healy with the bulk of the Irish Hierarchy; and undoubtedly a large proportion of the Catholic laity, though of course the lay supporters of the Dunraven Scheme carried considerable weight. The Catholic Press, on the whole, were backward in supporting the "Committee of Lay Catholics." This organization, already mentioned, now came into marked prominence (although they had existed for some years previously) purely with the object of pressing for a scheme which would permit Catholics to graduate in the University of Dublin. It had even given evidence before the Robertson Commission in the same sense, and inasmuch as the Commissioners found themselves unable to discuss this question fully on account of their limited Reference, the Committee expressed a hope that the Reference could be enlarged or at least more widely interpreted—but in this they were disappointed. Under these circumstances the appointment of a new Commission dealing expressly with Dublin University, an event which they no doubt had assisted in bringing about, gave them a new opportunity which they utilized to the full. As they came into conflict with the President of University College and others who strongly favoured the Royal University Scheme, it will be necessary here to describe the character and

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position of the Committee somewhat fully. The original Chairman had been Sir Gerald Dease, who, however, died shortly after his accepting the position in 1903. He had held office at the Castle as Chamberlain to the Lord Lieutenant, was brother to the owner of Turbotstown, an old Catholic property in Co. Westmeath, and also to Mr. Edmund Dease of Rath, a member of the Royal University Senate and a strong supporter of University College. At the time of the Fry Commission, Sir Gerald's position as Chairman had fallen to Mr. John Sweetman of Drumbara, Co. Meath, at one time Home Rule Member of Parliament for East Wicklow, and also Chairman of the County Council of his own Co. Meath. His chief supporters, or, we might say, the leaders of the movement, were the secretary, Mr. Nicholas J. Synnott, J.P., and at one time High Sheriff of Co. Kildare, and a member of the English Bar; and Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Fottrell, a Dublin solicitor of distinction, whose brother was Rector of the Jesuit Church of Gardiner Street. None of these men were themselves graduates of T.C.D.<sup>7</sup> Messrs. Fottrell and Synnott had both felt the drawback of being excluded on religious grounds from entering the College. Mr. Fottrell stated this fact with regard to himself, adding that his father had (under different circumstances) graduated at T.C.D., that his own son was a member of the College, and that he hoped it would be possible for his grandsons to enter it under happier circumstances. Again, it was well

<sup>7</sup> We might mention as prominent members of the Committee — Dr. (afterwards Sir Andrew) Hoine; Mr. Richard O'Shaughnessy; while Mr. William O'Reilly, of Knock Abbey, Co. Louth, wrote strongly in opposition to the Committee's view.

known that Mr. Synnott deeply regretted that he, too, had been debarred from graduating in Trinity, and had been driven to take a Degree, which he did with distinction, in the non-teaching University of London.

Thus the Committee viewed the University question from a somewhat one-sided if not even a personal standpoint. Their loyalty to their religion was manifest, and was never called into question, least of all by the Jesuits, who claimed Fottrell and Synnott as pupils of their Order. All the same the Committee took up the attitude that as a handful of laymen they were at liberty to carry on a strenuous agitation independently of the Bishops and Clergy, a position which, however defensible in theory, under the very critical circumstances of the case caused dissatisfaction among a large section of Catholics. Their attitude was brought into a strong light when, the day after a Resolution of the Bishops' Standing Committee was published to the effect that, "under no circumstances will the Catholics of Ireland accept a mixed system of education in Trinity College as a solution of their claims," Mr. Synnott wrote to the Press<sup>8</sup> to the following effect:—

Lay Catholics will not be backward in listening to the advice of their ecclesiastical authorities in religious matters. They will also gladly confer with the Bishops in all other aspects of the problem, but in the secular aspects they would be failing in their duty as parents, as citizens, and as men with brains given them to think with, if they did not form and declare their own opinions.

In judging of such a declaration it must be borne in mind that as the question was one involving more

<sup>8</sup> See *Freeman's Journal* for Aug. 4th, 1906.

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than "secular aspects." The Bishops were clearly doing their duty in laying down certain principles which should determine the attitude of Catholics to the various schemes proposed.

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It becomes necessary here to explain that about this period<sup>9</sup> the controversy had become complicated and somewhat embittered by a new proposal which was put forward in a memorial to the Commissioners by a small number of Junior Fellows and Professors of Trinity. This was to the effect that without founding a new College suitable for Catholics within their University, an arrangement might be come to by which the existing Elizabethan College might so widen out its constitution that it could be made to satisfy all just needs of Catholic students. The expression used in the Memorial was "that Trinity College might become the National University of Ireland."

The signatories<sup>10</sup> enumerated six points about which they suggested that concessions should be made in the above sense:

- (i.) A Catholic element to be introduced into the Governing Body of the College;
- (ii.) The establishment on a Dual System of special Professorships in Philosophy and History;
- (iii.) Provision for Catholics of instruction given by Clergymen of their own Church.

<sup>9</sup> In the month of July, 1906.

<sup>10</sup> The memorandum contains 21 signatures, 18 of whom were or had been Fellows. These included not merely younger members of the staff, such as Messrs. Goligher, Alton, and Thrift; but such eminent names as the two Professors Purser, Professors Beare and Smyly, and the learned Dr. Starkie. It was generally understood that Dr. Mahaffy sympathized with the suggestion, but he took no public part in the movement.

- (iv.) A Catholic Faculty of Theology;
- (v.) A Catholic Chapel within the College precincts;
- (vi.) The erection of a Council to safeguard the faith and morals of Catholic students.

There is evidence in the Memorial that its authors had been in communication with the Committee of Catholic Laymen. It was at once adopted by the latter as preferable to the scheme they had been previously advocating of a separate Catholic College within the University. Mr. Synnott sent to the Commission in the name of his Committee a memorandum in favour of the new proposals, and both he and Mr. Fottrell gave evidence in the same sense, stating their belief that this was not merely the best solution, but one which the Bishops would accept if it were officially put forward. One very weak point in the whole thing was that the Trinity College Memorial had little authority behind it. Not merely was it not pleasing to the Governing Board of the College, but it was violently repudiated by them, and the Vice-Provost (in the absence of the Provost) wrote to the *Irish Times* of August 11, drawing a parallel between the handful of Junior Fellows as speaking for the College, and the Three Tailors of Tooley Street known as "We, the People of England." Archbishop Walsh also ridiculed this proposal in the *Freeman's Journal*, calling it "a new fantastic project which only complicates matters and confuses them," and its originators and supporters "ingenuous theorists who have evolved this out of their inner consciousness and have left out of account not only the Irish Bishops but also the Holy See . . . Was there ever such a piece of absurdity?"

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The Catholic advocates of this new proposal, however maintained with some show of reason that the condemnation of Trinity College as a place of education for Catholics referred to it in its existing character, and could not be taken to apply to it if it were drastically reformed in the manner proposed.

But they would have been better advised from their own standpoint had they supported the Archbishop and the Chief Baron, and not given their adhesion to what was doubtful, perhaps even chimerical. In point of fact, by changing their ground and flying to a mere possibility (which had very little if any chance of realization) they split their own ranks, caused dismay to many Catholics, and alarm to the friends of Trinity College; and, what was worse, injured their own reputation as men of sound judgment.

Within University College itself, which had perhaps the deepest stake in the decision to be arrived at, there was, we believe, less difference of opinion than had appeared at first. By degrees the Professors and other members of the College were more and more steadfast in their agreement with the President.<sup>11</sup> We should not assume that this attitude was due wholly to his personal influence, though with some this may have weighed heavily; but as being men of independent judgment in a matter which concerned themselves individually, it is perhaps more reasonable to conclude that they were swayed by the same motives as was Dr. Delany. Feeling that the good work already done by the College was largely due to its not being entangled

<sup>11</sup> We should say, however, that Professor Magennis gave his evidence in favour of the Dunraven Scheme, and he was not alone,



with a Protestant University, and that it would be capable of doing still better work if left to develop normally under a new organization—they shrank from the risk and uncertainties of a complete *bouleversement* such as the other proposal would involve. Those who knew Trinity College best, while admiring its strength, felt also that in that very strength would lie the difficulty of a newly-created rival, endowed with neither the same academic prestige, nor the same, political, social, and intellectual bulwarks as the Elizabethan institution. The whole problem lay in the difficulty of weighing what was ideally preferable against what was certainly attainable. And on the religious side the risk would be no small one.<sup>12</sup>

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But the controversy passed out of the hands of the people most immediately interested: the decision was taken for them. Trinity College, feeling something like horror at the prospect which was opening up (for it was definitely announced by Mr. Bryce at Belfast in January that the Government had decided to follow the Dunraven Scheme) had turned to their friends in England with the old cry—couched, perhaps, in a milder form—"Hands off Trinity!"

A Defence Committee was formed early in the year 1907, under the Chairmanship of the Provost, Dr. Traill, which included two Senior and eight Junior Fellows; Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Bernard, then Dean of St. Patrick's; Mr. Campbell (afterwards Lord Glenavy), M.P. for T.C.D.; and five other members. A

<sup>12</sup> This statement would clearly not apply if at some future time the National University should be in a position to enter upon some form of amalgamation upon really equal terms.

bound volume of pamphlets was issued later<sup>13</sup> giving full information as to the activities of the Defence Committee and of other bodies in Great Britain who took sympathetic action. These included a Memorial to the new Chief Secretary (Mr. Birrell)<sup>14</sup> signed by about four thousand graduates, to the effect that,

We, the undersigned, desire to record our protest against the proposal for the reconstruction of the University of Dublin announced by the Rt. Hon. James Bryce in January 25, 1907. We regard them as fatal to the best interests of liberal University education in Ireland, and unjust to Trinity College.

As a result of a deputation sent to the Universities of Great Britain, including Mr. E. J. Gwynn (now Provost of the College) and the late Professor John I. Beare, F.T.C.D., similar protests were made by Heads of Colleges, Professors, Fellows, and Lecturers at Oxford and Cambridge; by Teachers of the University of London; the Senate of Birmingham University; members of Senior Staff at Liverpool, Sheffield, and Bristol Universities; by the Scotch Universities and the University of Wales; by two hundred and thirty-five Fellows of the Royal Society; and by eight hundred and thirty Ulstermen with interests in University Education. In Dublin University itself there was held a meeting of the Senate on February 4, 1907, which passed a unanimous resolution condemning the Bryce Scheme, and a similar meeting of the graduates held on March 22 of the same year. On June 4, a meeting

<sup>13</sup> *Dublin University Defence*. The University Press, Dublin. 1909.

<sup>14</sup> Mr. Bryce had resigned the Irish Secretaryship to go as Ambassador to Washington.

was held of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Belfast, at which the new scheme was denounced by the Rt. Hon. T. Sinclair, D.L.; and on May 1, Professor Joly published an *Epitome of the Irish University Question*, in which he laid stress upon the willingness of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to accept a scheme which would leave the University of Dublin intact. Other similar pamphlets were published by the Committee. Trinity College, moreover, gave some sort of pledge that, should a scheme for a new College in Dublin, not under Dublin University, be put forward by the Government, they would not oppose it, but would use their influence in its favour in Parliament and elsewhere. This promise was, we believe, honestly kept, and the Provost, subsequent to the carrying through of the National University Bill, was heard to claim that that event was largely due to his own action and that of his friends in gaining support for the Bill. Although it must be admitted that the influence exerted by Trinity College contributed very materially to the killing of the Dunraven Scheme, we must not omit to record the part played by the Catholic opponents of it and especially by Father Delany.<sup>15</sup> Rightly or wrongly, he worked against the Dublin University Scheme, which he disliked and feared, both by word of mouth, by his evidence before the Commission, by writing in the Press, by his action in the Senate, and by organizing a Catholic Defence Society

<sup>15</sup> We must also record that Fr. Delany clearly announced that, if the Trinity College Scheme were adopted, he, like other Irish Catholics, would accept it frankly and loyally. See *Final Report of Fry Commission*, 1907, p. 283, footnote.

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so that it would be hardly an exaggeration to call him the real Founder of the National University.

Perhaps the most important of the methods he adopted was the Resolution which he proposed in the Senate of the Royal University upon October 25, 1906. It was seconded by Archbishop Healy, and carried unanimously in a meeting consisting of the Chancellor and twenty other Senators; and was ordered to be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the Prime Minister, and the members of the Royal Commission then sitting, to the following effect:

That in the judgment of the Senate of the Royal University, it would be disastrous to the interests of education in Ireland to concentrate the control of Higher Education in one University.

Considering the mixed character of the Senate and the number of interests represented in it, that such a simple but strongly-worded proposition should have been carried without a single dissentient voice or abstention, was a surprising testimony to Fr. Delany's powers of persuasion as well as to the soundness of his view; and there can be little doubt that the Commission was deeply impressed by the fact of the unanimity displayed on the occasion.

The action of the Catholic Defence Society, which was taken to counteract in some degree that of the Committee of Catholic Laymen, was less impressive; but as it was entirely due to Fr. Delany's initiative we will mention a few points concerning it. The President was a personal friend of Fr. Delany, Patrick, J. O'Neill, J.P., Chairman of the Co. Dublin County Council. The statement submitted by this Society to the

Commission was drawn up upon November 1, 1906; its tone is strongly contentious, but its sentiments certainly reflect the mind of Fr. Delany. It commences by referring expressly to the Resolution of the Senate of the Royal, and protesting against the policy of unification of Universities. It then goes on to state that the proposal to make Trinity College itself acceptable to Catholics is impracticable in the extreme, and if practicable yet undesirable; and also refers to the high standard of training in the Royal University and to the "inferior standard of Trinity College, Dublin."

The document also represents that the signatories to the "statement of certain Irish Catholic laymen" cannot be regarded as representing the general body of Catholic lay opinion; and that "it has not been endorsed by any one Catholic representative body, though many have strongly protested against it."

If we turn now to the evidence given before the Commission by Father Delany upon November 12, consisting of thirty-two columns of the Final Report, it is easy to understand why the Commission considered him their most important witness on the Catholic side. His facts are abundant, his reasoning cogent, and his views are expressed in clear and forcible language. In dealing with many topics, such as the mixing of Catholic with non-Catholic students in social or athletic pursuits, or again objections to certain kinds of scientific teaching, he showed great breadth of thought.

Speaking of the Trinity College scheme the witness (contrary to his usual style which was not remarkable

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for humour) made a remark worth recording. The Scheme was one by which the University of Dublin was to embrace all the other Colleges, and being asked by the Chairman whether he thought it the worst solution possible replied, "The worst I can imagine; the word 'embrace' would be very odd. I should like to know how we could 'embrace.' Dr. Traill and I are friends, but we certainly should not embrace over the Scheme."<sup>16</sup>

The mind of the President was summed up in a letter which he sent in as a supplement to his oral evidence on a particular point, in which he wrote:

Refuse Irishmen what they ask even though it seem reasonable enough; but give them something else they do not want and then complain to the world how unreasonable and ungrateful they are.

\* \* \* \* \*

It will be readily understood that the long period of controversy, however much it may have been enjoyed by those who took part in it, yet had a far from beneficial reaction upon the inner life of the College. From the year 1904 the students had begun to be restless and to assert their feelings strongly, so that troubles set in, which, at times becoming acute, lasted more or less continuously till the settlement of 1908. We do not mean that during these years there was constant disorder, but the spirit of unrest and discontent was growing, and from time to time there were outbursts which led to regrettable results.

<sup>16</sup> It is hardly necessary to point out that the President of University College was a small thin man, and the Provost of Trinity *au contraire*.

At first the trouble was focused upon the authorities of the University, rather than the College, but inasmuch as at least among the leading revolvers there were members of the College, these came up against the authorities at St. Stephen's Green. In giving a brief account of these events in the final years of the College's existence, it is not our business to apportion blame—if blame there be. But we cannot avoid saying that although the students and their ringleaders were carried away, as young men will be carried in times of excitement—and the whole thing was fundamentally due to politics—yet if they had been handled with more discretion some of their excesses might have been avoided. On the other hand, the position was a difficult one for those who had to deal with it. Perhaps the thing "had to be"—the causes were really deep-seated in the nature of existing institutions in Ireland. Two things we must bear in mind—young Irishmen love a scrimmage; and our fighting contingent had persuaded themselves that Earlsfort Terrace represented the Ascendancy. In a way it did, none the less because the Chancellor, the Earl of Meath, a strong Conservative and Imperialist (though a high-minded and kindly individual), did not know how to "give and take"—and Sir James Meredith, his friend and henchman, with all his fine qualities, was as short of temper as he was wanting in humour when the University was in question.

In 1904 took place the struggle with police which was afterwards known as "The Battle of Earlsfort Terrace." As in other Universities in these countries, the Conferring Day had been often a scene of disorder.

In Dublin the Undergraduates proper had been reinforced by Medical students who did not belong to the University, and the shouting and yelling had often drowned the voice of the dignitary who conferred the Degrees, so that hardly a word of his oration was audible. Therefore in this particular year the Senate, on the Chancellor's suggestion, determined to exclude from the Hall all members of the University except those getting Degrees and their friends.<sup>17</sup> A rather thin pretext was given, namely the large number of those on whom the Degrees were to be conferred. The Hall, which was a large one, was not really filled, and the students determined to enter by force. There was a posse of police posted both at the entrance and within the Hall, but by a clever ruse the injured innocents diverted the attention of the former and then managed to break down the turnstile which excluded them. The police were wise enough not to use their batons, so the rioters made their way into the Hall. They were led by John Kennedy, an Arts student, with the aid of Sarsfield Kerrigan and Thomas Madden, both Medicals. Lord Meath abruptly left the meeting, with the result, it was said, that not all the Degrees were conferred ceremonially.

The following year, 1905, the arrangements were different. The students were now admitted, and during the proceedings were comparatively quiet. But at the end they committed a much worse outrage upon the feelings of the authorities by secretly climbing up a narrow ladder into the organ loft and forcibly prevent-

<sup>17</sup> It may be remembered that on one occasion at Oxford a somewhat similar arrangement was adopted to avoid disorder.



ing the playing of "God Save the King," with which the proceedings had always hitherto concluded.

The supposed culprits were then summoned to attend before the Standing Committee of the Senate. They were the three heroes of the battle of 1904, and also T. M. Kettle, M.A., who had been mistaken for another. In fact he did not actually take part in the so-called outrage, but had certainly helped to organize it. He spoke in loud denunciation of the authorities, and announced his intention of burning his diploma, or (as some say) actually tore it up before the eyes of the audience. Anyhow the rumour got abroad that he was among the rioters, and he was included in the summons. All the incriminated refused to appear before the Standing Committee, writing protests which were intended to be insulting in reply. Kettle and Kennedy wrote an identical epistle (said to have been drafted by the late George McSwiney, K.C.) in which they said that, after taking legal advice, they denied the Senate any jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the charge in question. They added: "Your University is not a true University in the right sense of the word. Your functions are not governing but merely administrative. Your duties are confined to conferring a Degree upon 'Every person who has matriculated . . . and satisfies the Senate that he is qualified in point of learning to receive the same.' Might I suggest that your Committee apply themselves within this limited sphere of action and refrain from issuing wholly unfounded and insulting allegations . . ."

Thomas Madden wrote that he regarded the summons as "ridiculous, grossly impertinent, and, if I

am correctly informed, illegal," and demanded an immediate apology. Kerrigan was more brief and less incisive in his language but equally clear as to his intentions.

We do not know whether the indignant Senate could see any humour in the whole 'incident,' but what made the situation serious for them was that their Legal Assessor, who was consulted too late, told them that in his opinion they had exceeded their powers. They did not accept his decision as final, but adjourned their meeting to consult the Law Officers of the Crown. Their answer was to the effect that the Senate does possess ample power of punishing the members of the University who were disloyal and refractory. But no very drastic action was taken. The chief upshot of the quarrel was that Lord Meath, being thoroughly dissatisfied with the subsequent inactivity of the Senate, resigned his position as Chancellor, and was succeeded by a younger and less prominent nobleman, Lord Castletown who had little sympathy with reactionary politics. However, Madden rusticated himself, or at least retired to the town of Kiltimagh, where he soon made himself celebrated as a local dispensary doctor.<sup>18</sup> He subsequently returned to Dublin for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Cecilia Street in the year following his voluntary exile.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> It was sometimes hinted, perhaps as a joke, that Madden had fled from the wrath of the Senate. But that is impossible, for they had no authority over him as he was not a member of the University. He probably had to go to the country to canvass for the vacant dispensary; at the same time he may have thought it prudent to be out of Dublin. At the moment he had not yet obtained his licence to practise, although he had passed his Final Examination.

<sup>19</sup> We have referred elsewhere to Dr. Madden's early and regretted death.

Of course the matter was harped on a good deal by the Conservative Press, not merely in Ireland but in Great Britain. It was discussed in the columns of the *Times*, which organ urged the Senators, to whatever section they may belong, not to shrink from doing their duty.

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Up to this point the College was not directly involved in the squabble except in so far as a large section of the students had taken a more or less active part in the row or at least had expressed warm sympathy with the rebels. Naturally, however, there was created an atmosphere of unrest which interfered with the normal life of the College. And it was inevitable that sooner or later the authorities would be called upon to take action. The most prominent and influential College Society, the 'Literary and Historical,' rather rashly took up the cudgels, and got very seriously involved in a struggle with the President and Academic Council.

The Committee summoned an extraordinary meeting at which a resolution was enthusiastically carried at the instigation of Messrs. R. J. Sheehy, B.A., and P. J. Little, "cordially endorsing the action of students who prevented the playing of the National Anthem at the recent Conferring of Degrees." Dr. Delany, as President of the Society, ruled that this action was *ultra vires*, as the Society was not a political one, and he ordered the resolution to be expunged from the Minute Book. This order the Hon. Secretaries, Cruise O'Brien and John Kennedy refused to carry out.

Meanwhile the Annual Inaugural Meeting of the Society was held in the usual way on November 22, at

which Mr. T. F. Bacon, B.A., as Auditor, delivered his address on "University Education." He insisted that the question was national rather than academic, and the address was said to be "sound and full of common sense in every line." But the students were more than usually unruly.

When Sir Christopher Nixon rose to propose a vote of thanks he was received with the bald question, "Why did you send your son to Trinity?" which acted like a bombshell on the already excited meeting, Peter Byrne, using his ventriloquial powers with the utmost effect, asking the same raucous question over and over again, "to the wrath [it was said] of an indignant old gentleman and some middle-aged ladies who were in his vicinity but who generally eyed the wrong person." Consequently Sir Christopher failed to make himself heard. As he was the principal guest of the evening, Fr. Delany was so perturbed at this conduct that in the heat of the moment he allowed himself to characterize it as "blackguardly." No doubt the question was a discourteous method of expressing their overwrought feelings; and perhaps the President should have recognised that the disturbers had deliberately intended a serious demonstration of opinion rather than mere interruption and disorder. Anyhow the phrase cut them. They listened to the other speakers in quiet, and Mr. Tim Healy spoke in extenuation of their conduct, using the well-worn phrase, "Boys will be boys."

The struggle continued. In the following year, 1906, Cruise O'Brien, who was one of the disaffected, if not their leader, was elected Auditor of the Literary and

Historical Society, with Aedan Cox and Maurice Healy as Hon. Secretaries. This year again there was some trouble at Earlsfort Terrace, with a sequel at the College that was worse. Again the students had congregated on the steps of the College; and this time, fearing something serious might result, Father Delany determined to have the students dispersed, and sent a message to the police to come and drive them from the steps. As the students were already inflamed through previous occurrences, they were strongly disposed to resent this appeal to physical force; and for a time the President of the College was now rated as one who had definitely joined their enemies. Had there been time to summon the Academic Council of the College a different course might have been taken; but, as it was, the President was entirely supported, both now and in his subsequent action, by the Council.

Again the Literary and Historical thought it their business to interfere, and went so far as passing a resolution<sup>20</sup> censuring the President for his conduct in calling in the police. Again they were ordered by the Council! to expunge the minute as grossly irregular and insubordinate; and this time, led by Cruise O'Brien, they declined to obey.

O'Brien was then ordered to attend a meeting of the Council, which he did. According to a statement in the *Freeman's Journal* he was not heard, but was told that the decision of the Council would be communicated to him by letter. This was to the effect that he was rusticated from the College for twelve months, that he was deprived of the Auditorship, and expelled

<sup>20</sup> This was proposed by T. A. Mangan, and seconded by J. A. Ronayne.

from the Literary and Historical Society. Mangan and Ronayne were also censured by the Council. Subsequently O'Brien obtained another audience of the Council, but with no result as to the sentence passed upon him.

His party was now refused the use of any room in the College; whereupon they went to Cecilia Street and constituted themselves a meeting of the Committee. This subsequently met at the Club in Dawson Street. Only five members had been summoned, and Bacon who, as ex-Auditor, was on the Committee, protested that it was not a properly constituted meeting. Maurice Healy, Hon. Secretary, was now in the south of Ireland attending the funeral of his paternal grandfather; Gerald Byrne, Hon. Treasurer, was also away preparing to go to India as Civil Servant; and Tom Bodkin was studying pictures in Paris. Cruise O'Brien was now celebrated for his characterization of the President as a "Decaying Old Whig"!

This was the First Act. The Second was a meeting or Conference held late at night at Dr. Cox's house in Merrion Square where Maurice Healy and others on the moderate side besought O'Brien to allow the objectionable minute to be expunged. He held out till 3.0 a.m., when he agreed to allow Healy to expunge it with his own hands. O'Brien, though agreeing to this, was still breathing fire, and declared that we must yet "have it out." As it was, he and J. A. Ronayne, who had also been rusticated, were refused to be reinstated by the Academic Council; and so the split went on. The Minute Book was in the possession of John

O'Byrne, and at the request of Healy (the Hon. Sec.), 'Ginger' O'Connell attempted a burglary to recapture it. He succeeded in penetrating to O'Byrne's lodging, but the book had been hidden or taken elsewhere, so the raid was unsuccessful.

The Third Act was the determination of Cruise O'Brien to hold his Inaugural as Auditor of the Society outside the College, and accordingly his party hired the hall of the Antient Concert Rooms. He had as assistants, P. J. Little, Quigley (a Medical), and R. J. Sheehy, who about this time joined the *Freeman* staff. The meeting was not well attended. There were now three committee-men on each side, and both divisions tried to get a quorum to elect to two vacancies on the Committee; but neither attempt was legally carried out. On the other hand, a quasi-auditorial meeting was held in the Aula Maxima at which Healy gave the address upon "Irish Industrial Development." Professor T. A. Finlay presided, and among the speakers were George Russell (A.E.), the President of the Irish Industrial Development Association; and among Junior Members, Aedan Cox, William Keane, S.J., and Edward Slattery.

What we may call the Great Schism was scarcely healed until the entire change in affairs, which was brought about two years later. The bitterness engendered by the struggle was indeed lamentable; but it must always be remembered that the normal harmony and discipline of the College was upset by causes outside its walls and over which it had no control.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> We trust that we have given the details of this famous episode correctly; they were supplied by some of the actors in the Drama, and have been checked by newspaper reports.

Mr. Cruise O'Brien's death, to which reference has been already made, occurred just after the above account was written, so that we could not submit it to him for his approval or criticism. But he left a document giving his account of these and other later passages of his life. It has never been published, but Mrs. Cruise O'Brien has kindly put it at our disposal. It would be too long to give at length, but there are certain points which must be recorded here. He wrote:

Our quarrel with the Jesuits has been represented as political and as anti-clerical. As a matter of sober fact, it was neither. It is true that it arose indirectly out of the incident of the *Organ* which I have chronicled; yet had there been no such incident some other cause might have precipitated the crisis. Our quarrel was not in defence of any political creed nor of any secularist theory but simply of academical tradition.

He then describes the calling in of the police as "an unexampled breach of that academic tradition which looks with horror even upon the idea of introducing policemen within the walls." And he proceeds:

Naturally our minds turned to the Literary and Historical Society as our little parliament and the channel through which our internal politics were conducted. In that year I was Auditor, and we at once convened a meeting of its Committee in order to take counsel as to what should be done . . . Although I have been credited with the opening of the campaign which followed, the real glory belongs to Timothy Mangan, the man ill-used by the constable.

The account given by O'Brien of what followed is naturally fuller than our own, but it is, we believe, in complete agreement as to the facts with what we have



written. He lays stress upon the sympathy and help he was accorded by Willie Redmond, in spite of a threat to complain of him to his father, the National leader. Writing of a General Meeting of the members of the Literary and Historical Society, in which sixty voted that the President of the College had no power to depose the Auditor, he says:—

We were all very thrilled and very determined, and those observers who talk about Ireland being priest-ridden might have had some food for reflection had they been there. Many of those who espoused my cause were sincere admirers of the Jesuits, like James Fitzgerald-Kenney—an ex-Auditor of the Society—and Edward Little.

Considering all the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the Auditor felt sorely as to the justice (or injustice?) which was meted out to him. But although his strictures on “the Jesuits” and on Fr. Delany are sometimes severe, he was not uniformly bitter. He says:

Let me be fair to the Jesuits. Their point of view was two-fold. One that authority must be maintained at all costs, and secondly, that our attitude endangered a final settlement of the University Question. It does not, however, seem to have had any such disastrous results.

And later of the President he wrote:

I cherish kindly memories of Father Delany. We used to call him Doctor Delany in order to draw from him his invariable retort: “Don’t call me Doctor, sir. I am not an apothecary!” . . . He always fought with steel like a gentleman, nor, I think, did he have any wish to fight at all if he could have avoided it.

It is a pleasure to record these sentences.

One result of the state of unsettlement was that the journal which we have so often quoted, *St. Stephen's*, was put an end to by a ruthless act of authority. Previously, from time to time there had been some difficulty in getting its pages past the College Censor, but it must be admitted that the latter had shown himself sufficiently tolerant. Now, however, when Cruise O'Brien as editor and P. J. Little as manager were surrounded with congenial colleagues, the paper was showing a rather too ardent disposition. The objectionable element exhibited disaffection towards the University rather than to the College, though there are vague references to "the Authorities." A skit on Sir James Meredith, written in a too personal and scarcely creditable style by the Editor, had appeared in the last number for 1905; and this was not the only article which showed a tendency to degeneration. The events of this period as above described would prove that the College atmosphere was not congenial to literary effort of the academic sort, and it was hardly tolerable that the College paper should continue to be openly an organ of disaffection. Anyhow after two numbers in 1906, *St. Stephen's* was a thing of the past.

But the end of the greater University troubles were now in view.



## **CHAPTER XV.**

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**ABSORPTION OF COLLEGE IN NEW SCHEME.**



## ABSORPTION OF COLLEGE IN NEW SCHEME.

WE have arrived at the final stage in the history of the old College. In one sense it ceased to exist because it made way for something different, something better. But in truth its life was not so much extinguished as transformed. The new College in Earlsfort Terrace is a larger and in every way better institution than the one we have endeavoured to describe. Transplant a tree to a richer soil and more favourable atmosphere and you will get a finer growth indeed—but the identity of the plant depends upon its root, and the roots of Earlsfort Terrace had struck in the soil of St. Stephen's Green. It remains for us to give the details concerning this process of replanting, which happily has led to a complete renewal in the life of University College, Dublin.

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In our last chapter we saw how the two Parliamentary Commissions of June 1901 and June 1906 had both failed, principally because there was no real unanimity shown in either Report. Also that Mr. Bryce, the creator of the Fry Commission, had resigned his Irish Secretaryship in 1907, in order to go as British Ambassador to Washington; and that his place had been taken by Mr. Augustine Birrell, a man previously

known less widely as a statesman than as a charming essayist and writer of *Obiter Dicta*. All the same he was destined to carry out with triumph what Gladstone in 1873, Beaconsfield and the Duke of Marlborough in 1879, the two Balfours in 1901, Wyndham in 1905, and Bryce in 1906 had miserably failed to effect. Mr. Birrell had previously announced his intention to bring in a Bill which was introduced upon March 31, 1908, and was made law exactly four months later. By it two new Universities were to be erected by Royal Charter in Dublin and Belfast respectively, and that of Dublin was to incorporate the University College of St. Stephen's Green, of course in a greatly extended form. Trinity College would remain untouched.

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In regard to the history of the above measure, we are able to lay before our readers some important facts which previously have not been of common knowledge, although the whole transaction was to be published at a future date.<sup>1</sup> In the summer of the year 1898, it was known that Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Haldane, O.M., was in Dublin staying at the Shelbourne Hotel, and that he was engaged in making enquiries as to the possibility of a settlement of the University Question. Although a member of the Liberal Party, then in Opposition, he was a close friend of Mr. A. J. Balfour, First Lord of the Treasury and Conservative Leader of the House of Commons.

<sup>1</sup> We must express our deep gratitude to the late Lord Haldane for his kindness in putting at our disposal for publication the facts narrated, only some months before his recent death. His memoirs have since been published, but we leave our notes as they were submitted for his approval.

At this very time Mr. Haldane had succeeded in carrying out a much-needed reform in the University of London, by which it had been transformed into a real centre of education instead of being, like the Royal University of Ireland, a merely examining board.<sup>2</sup> His own interest in such matters, as also the influence he had been able to exercise in Parliament, was at least in part due to his varied experience. For he had been a student at Scottish and German Universities, and was afterwards Rector of Edinburgh, and Chancellor of Bristol, Universities.

There was an obvious advantage in delegating difficult and even delicate negotiations to a statesman not in office, but from this point of view it is not surprising that Mr. Haldane demanded clear credentials from Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister, and from his Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hicks-Beach. Between Mr. Balfour and himself a distinct promise was extracted of an annual sum of £50,000 for financing two new Universities in Dublin and Belfast. After corresponding on the subject with some leading Catholic layman in Ireland, he came in person to carry on a negotiation. He interviewed, among others, Archbishop Walsh, Cardinal Logue, Dr. Delany, and (most difficult of persuasion) Dr. Todd Martin, ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly of Belfast. The result of these conversations was that he was able to travel straight to Whittingeham, where Balfour was staying, and to inform him that, if his Government would bring in

<sup>2</sup> It is fitting to mention here that apart from London, the remarkable growth of modern Universities in Great Britain has been fostered by Viscount Haldane more than by any other living statesman.



the Bill on the terms which he had laid down, the Scheme would receive the necessary support from the parties chiefly concerned in Ireland.

The result of this communication was that a Bill on the lines indicated, together with two preliminary Charters for the proposed Universities, was actually drafted. Balfour had great hopes of persuading the Cabinet to bring in the Bill as a Government measure, but despite his most urgent entreaties the Scheme was frustrated. As there were in the Conservative Cabinet representatives of Protestant constituencies in the north of Ireland, it is not very difficult to conclude that the usual thing had happened. These reactionaries could not perhaps persuade their colleagues on grounds of reason; but they had enough voting power to be able to carry a different sort of persuasion. Anyhow the question was once more shelved, after a record of the negotiations had been taken.

Ten years later Birrell, who had succeeded Bryce as Chief Secretary, told the House of Commons that, having been invited, much to his dismay and amazement, to take the office, he had replied: "Were it not for the hope of being able to deal with the University Question, nothing could induce me to make myself responsible for the Government of Ireland for a single week." Such was his feeling, but in spite of his hopes he was faced with the fact that his predecessor had just failed in an attempt which at the beginning had appeared to have good prospects. Accordingly, he expressed grave doubts whether at the moment any new effort could have a better fate. He was about to decide that nothing could be done immediately, when

Lord Haldane, now a member of the Cabinet as Minister for War, was able to intervene and assure his colleague that according to his certain knowledge the case was not really desperate. The fact of his own transactions in Ireland had not been published in the Press or otherwise; and as it concerned the former intentions of a Conservative Government, it is not surprising that Mr. Birrell had not been previously acquainted with the proceedings. But his hopes now became brighter, seeing that the scheme attempted eight years previously could be revived, and it was precisely the scheme which he himself had favoured. So he demanded to see the written evidence of Lord Haldane's Mission to Ireland, and when, after a prolonged search this was forthcoming, he at once decided to proceed on the same lines. The scheme had been in fact initialled by the Catholic Prelates and the Presbyterian Moderator, and it was easily established that their adhesion still held good. Mr. Birrell, when bringing in his Bill, insisted that it should be backed by Lord Haldane as its real originator, and (though the latter had different duties in hand, as the world now knows very well), yet he did append his name to the Bill as one of its introducers. And in the debate upon the second reading his speech in defence of the Bill was remarkably cogent. He also spoke of University College as one which "*has a most honourable record and which has kept its standard high against great and almost overwhelming difficulties...* The case is one of a crying injustice, and when history comes to be written and this Bill has passed, the wonder will be, not that it passed, but that Parliament

should have tolerated so long a refusal of the measure of this measure of justice."

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There is not a great deal to say in general about the progress of Birrell's Bill in Parliament. The situation was not altogether dissimilar from that of 1879. In both cases there had been a struggle to bring in a certain solution, and then a Government Bill proposing a different solution was introduced; in both cases the Government proposal was taken as a sort of second-best by those who were weary of the thing and wanted to get it cleared away. In both cases there was a lot of wrangling among the politicians, a lot of steam was let off, but, except on the part of a few bitter and futile opponents, there was no real intention of blocking the measure. At the same time the subject was felt to be always thorny; and there had been so many complications and dismal failures in the past, that the supporters of the Bill on both sides of the House appear to have been not a little nervous about the result. The old bogey of denominationalism was always cropping up; and the more obstinate Tories who favoured that principle kept rubbing it in to their opponents that Birrell's measure was only a thinly disguised effort to introduce it into Irish University life—as though it were not already established there very securely. Sir Edward (afterwards Lord) Carson spoke strongly in favour of the Bill as representing Trinity College. This was according to the pact explained in our last chapter; but he spoke with considerable emphasis, and it must be allowed that his advocacy carried immense

weight with the House. He spoke of the Protestant atmosphere of Trinity College; and added:

We are frequently told that the setting up of these new Universities is a retrograde movement. It will depend entirely upon themselves whether they are a success or not. If, whether Roman Catholic or Presbyterian, they proceed to conduct their business and frame their curriculum on any narrow basis of sectarian differences they will be absolute failures. If they manage their business upon the broad basis of liberty, which can alone gain success in education, they will take their place as great Universities among those of the United Kingdom. I may hold views that do not entirely commend themselves even to many of those who think with me in Ireland; but I look forward to the day when these great, successful, liberal seats of learning, showing themselves worthy in the great race of science and art, will come forward to say, as I hope Trinity College will: "Let us join together and make one great National University." I believe it is the duty of every Irishman, of whatever creed or politics, to wish God-speed to these Universities, and to do his best in a spirit of noble generosity to make them a great success.

The Second Reading was carried by more than ten to one (i.e. 344 against 31). The Bill did not go through a Committee of the whole House in the ordinary way, but was referred to a Grand Committee, much to the dismay of its small band of opponents. However, when it came back to the House with certain amendments there were long debates, largely on questions of organization, which need not concern us; but more especially upon the question of the possible affiliation of Maynooth. All parties seemed to take it for granted that if the matter were left to the University itself to decide, the dreaded affiliation would certainly follow.

Upon this important question there was displayed a marked feeling of distrust and of opposition, even on the part of the genuine strong supporters of the Bill. Mr. Balfour, Professor Butcher, and Professor Sir William Anson, Member for Oxford, appear to have been under quite an honest belief that, as the last-mentioned said, "the institution would (owing to the affiliation of Maynooth) be wholly and solely under the government of the priests."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, Sir E. Carson declared that "he did not object to the power of affiliation if both parties agreed." Also, "that he wished a settlement should be come to with as little friction and bad feeling as possible, giving to all parties in the matter a real good start."

Our readers will be aware that a favourable decision was reached in the Commons—which fortunately escaped being reversed in the Lords—and that Mr. John Redmond's speech describing the powers of affiliation which belong to modern English Universities turned the scale. But it may not be of common knowledge that the information of Redmond was supplied to him by the President of University College. He kept in his private room for reference Calendars of the Universities of Leeds, Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Manchester, and only a few hours before the debate (which took place on July 24, 1908) Fr. Delany examined the Charters which were printed in the Calendars. These made it clear that in the newer Universities there was

<sup>3</sup> It is amusing to reflect how far these sinister prognostications were belied by the event. Those who know the National University from within can tell whether that institution is hopelessly under the government of Maynooth or "the Priests."

full freedom of affiliation of "such institutions as have a standard *deemed satisfactory by the University.*" Naturally the Irish leader, like most of his hearers, had known nothing of these arrangements, but when he read out the clauses from Charter after Charter, and then demanded that Ireland should have the freedom already accorded by Parliament to English provincial towns, the effect upon the House was almost electrical, and arguments which had been solemnly advanced were at once brushed away like cobwebs.

There was, of course, renewed criticism in the Upper Chamber upon this particular feature of the Bill. In particular, Lord Robertson, who was naturally listened to with much respect, expressed his fear of confusing a Seminary with a University; but no action followed, nor was an amendment even proposed. With regard to the Jesuit Order and the President of University College, following the impressions he had gained of them during his presidency of the Royal Commission, Lord Robertson spoke in handsome terms; and we think his words are worth recording:

Parliament should afford an opportunity of infusing into higher education the humanising and liberalising influences which the Roman Catholic Church knew how to use as illustrated by the signal success of the Jesuits in education.

He then added:

Of these traditions and achievements that distinguished man Dr. Delany is a worthy representative.

Similar terms of appreciation had been used by Mr. Birrell when introducing the Bill in the Commons four

months earlier.<sup>4</sup> Speaking of the appointment of a President for the new Dublin College, he had said: "The first man who would occur to us is Dr. Delany, who has devoted himself for many years with great success and industry to the education of Catholic youths in University College." He then goes on to announce that "Fr. Delany does not seek re-appointment on account of advancing age; and that his one desire is to see a University in Dublin before he dies." Then he adds: "There might be in some minds an objection to starting with a Jesuit. I am bound to say that no Chief Secretary who has enjoyed the acquaintance of Father Delany will feel that objection, but it will be felt in certain quarters . . . It is rather desirable, until a new tradition grows up, that the head of this new College should be a layman." Mr. Birrell then formally tendered his gratitude to the Jesuit before the House of Commons, for his generous act of resignation of office. This tribute could be taken as merely a graceful compliment, but it also in fact implied the withdrawal of the Society of Jesus from the position of responsibility which it had occupied for a space of twenty-five years.

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This incident which we have narrated with pleasure gives an opportunity for referring to something less pleasant to record. The restlessness and dissatisfaction which, as we have related, had been growing among the students of University College during its closing years, became further increased

<sup>4</sup> Upon March 31st, 1908.

during its very last year by a misunderstanding as to the position and policy of the Jesuit Fathers.

It was, perhaps, only natural to assume that when vast changes were in view, any body of men, whether a religious Order or not, would be thinking anxiously about their own dismissal from a position of high honour as well as of responsibility. Therefore it may not have been universally realized that the priests in charge of University College were 'sick unto death,' quite as much as other Irish Catholics, of the delays and prevarications of the British statesmen in settling this terrible grievance of their co-religionists. So far from clinging to their position of control, they were perfectly aware that such an attitude, if otherwise possible, would be not only injurious to the highest interests of education and of religion, but also consequentially fatal to themselves and their Order.

Among the more intimate acquaintances of Father Delany and his Community there could have been no misunderstanding as to their views or feelings on a subject which, it must be admitted, was one of very vital concern to them. The point to be noticed is that among those who were not well informed an impression had somehow got abroad that the Jesuits wished to 'outstay their welcome.'

A misapprehension of a similar kind at a much earlier date, had given rise to an incident which was trivial in itself and had practically nothing to do with the internal life of the College, but might have caused much friction and unpleasantness if it had not been carried on with such patent extravagance. Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell, ex-M.P. for Dungarvan,



had taken up a very extraordinary attitude. Though a former pupil of the Society, and at one time on intimate terms with Father Delany, he had for some unknown reason contracted a dislike of him and his colleagues. In 1902 he had published a volume entitled *The Ruin of Education in Ireland*, which was a bitter and gross attack upon his own educators, raking up many of the hackneyed calumnies against the Jesuit Order. When excitement was rising about the finding of the Robertson Commission in the year 1903, Mr. O'Donnell gave notice of a motion in Convocation of the Royal University, of which he was a Graduate, which led to a long and animated discussion held at a meeting of over forty members upon the 15th of October, which was fully reported in the daily Press. After a somewhat colourless resolution by Dr. Pye of Galway, which was unanimously passed, on the iniquity of "retaining a University system which a Royal Commission had just declared to be 'incurably bad,'" Mr. O'Donnell introduced his, which ran as follows:—

That any arrangement or bargain by which nomination to publicly endowed Fellowships . . . depends upon the discretion of a private teaching organization mainly composed of foreigners, and irresponsible to public control, is an affront to the dignity of learning . . . and a violation of University tradition.

In introducing this resolution O'Donnell made it clear that it referred to the Jesuit Order, not however as "Ministers of religion in the country, nor in any other capacity than as teachers in Ireland and in relation to the University."

The incident caused a good deal of amusement, but

as the motion was really an aggressive one, under the peculiar circumstances it had a serious aspect. Father Darlington, therefore, went down to Convocation, and astonished the meeting by solemnly seconding the motion, and making a speech in which he declared that he and the other Jesuit Professors were quite as anxious to be supplanted by a real University as Mr. O'Donnell could be to turn them out. This action was criticised by some on the ground that it made any further debate impossible; but we think that on the whole it was approved as a humorous solution of a rather unpleasant difficulty. Mr. O'Donnell's resolution was carried almost unanimously, but his campaign was not heard of any more.

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Father Delany had stated his position on this subject very clearly to the Robertson Commission in the previous year. When giving evidence on July the 11th, 1902, in answer to the question, "In view of a permanent arrangement do you advocate the continuance of the College under the management of the Jesuit Fathers?" he had replied: "Certainly not; such an arrangement would be entirely inadmissible . . . In the contemplated institution I consider that there should be room for all the best intellects of the country; it should be national; and should be governed from within *not by any mere section of the community*, but by a body thoroughly representative of the whole Catholic people with all its interests, and therefore enjoying the confidence of all sections. I would regard any monopoly, whether lay or clerical, as disastrous."

These words have been quoted here not merely to

prove that Fr. Delany had no notion of staying on as President, but also to show how clearly he understood the vital necessity for himself and his Order to stand aside as soon as ever circumstances would permit. Yet, if truth be told, during the period of suspense after the Fry Commission had failed to effect any settlement, the position of Fr. Delany and his Community was beginning to be misunderstood, not perhaps so much from the misrepresentation of some opponents as from the inevitable course of events.

Within the College itself there was naturally much unrest from a feeling of deep disappointment and resentment at the prolonged state of injustice; but this was concurrent with the situation already described—the President had become a mark of attack from an extreme but not insignificant section of advanced thinkers who had their partisans within the College as well as out of it. It might be admitted that Fr. Delany's gifts did not fit him for always dealing successfully with critical situations. With advancing age (he was now over fifty years a Jesuit) his spirit of conservatism had increased, and we have seen how he committed himself with a certain impetuosity to an active campaign against the promoters of the Irish language movement, who demanded that it should be made a compulsory subject in the new University. This policy brought him into further and acute conflict with a number of patriotic Graduates as well as Under-graduates, and we have already narrated how, at least on one occasion, he had been far from fortunate in handling the students. Thus the indignation which was quite properly aroused against the rulers of the

country was unfairly poured out upon the head of the veteran President. People suffering from excitement rarely are in a mood to argue fairly, and it seemed plausible to assume that as existing arrangements involved the abnormal government of a centre of higher learning by a Religious Order, that fact was the cause and not merely the effect of the academic and national grievance. If these agitators had been thoroughly rational, they would have realised that had Father Delany or those associated with him been inclined for selfish motives to obstruct or delay a solution of the University question, he would have stultified his whole career. It was, of course, a subject of deep regret that, just when the goal for which he had so long laboured was in sight, his hold should appear to be weakening upon those for whose benefit he had carried on the wearisome struggle. Some of those who knew his mind best were of opinion that he ought to take action to dispel any absurd notions about his attitude, by making some public gesture to show that he was not clinging to power. For instance, it was thought he might publicly declare to the Bishops that the time had now come when it was no longer feasible for a Religious Order to conduct the College satisfactorily; and to beseech their Lordships to relieve his Community of the burden which had been laid upon their shoulders under very different circumstances. However, the President considered that he had done enough to make clear the desires of himself and his brethren, and that any further proceeding was unnecessary and inopportune.

In the year following the break-up of the old College,

Dr. Delany was made Provincial of Ireland, with the result that he could no longer give his whole time to academic work. For this and perhaps other reasons he took very little part in the new arrangements that were pending. The location of the College in Earlsfort Terrace was contrary to his advice, for he had been among the few who thought that a great institution for higher learning should be erected in some more spacious territory at a distance from the distractions of city life. He had also strongly maintained that the University should undertake the functions of teaching and have its own Professoriate distinct from that of the Colleges in Dublin and in the country. As these views were considered by the large majority of the new Senate to denote quite unprogressive and impracticable schemes, Father Delany's influence as an organizer was no longer as potent as it had been when he was himself a pioneer of progress. He acted for only a short time on the Governing Body of the new College; and though for some years he attended the meetings of the Senate, he neither showed the activity nor enjoyed the influence of his earlier days. There was, perhaps, something fitting in his career closing when the College which he founded and ruled came to an end; and after three years of Provincialate, in his retirement which lasted still for nearly a decade, he had the consolation of knowing that his life-work was well done, and that in the minds and hearts of his former colleagues and students his memory was and will be held in benediction.

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During the period of stress and strain to which we

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have alluded, the Silver Jubilee of the College was celebrated with *éclat*. This event took place in the October of 1908, i.e. about three months after the passing of Birrell's Act. It was therefore a great occasion for the past students of the College to gather round their Alma Mater before it was finally absorbed in a larger institution. At a banquet held in the Aula Maxima on October the 29th, the Chancellor of the University, Lord Castletown, and a large number of Senators, including Archbishop Healy and the President of Maynooth (Dr. Mannix), were present. Cardinal Logue was unable to attend, but wrote a warm letter of congratulation, which we must transcribe; it ran:

I should be glad to attest by my presence how highly I appreciate the work which University College has done for higher education during the past twenty-five years. You have kept the flag flying during the darkest and most hopeless period... By your triumphant successes you have forced the opponents of higher education in Ireland to acknowledge that our young people only needed opportunity to take a leading place in the intellectual progress of the country. I believe that the present settlement has been largely due to the object lesson which University College has kept before the eyes of the country...

The thanks of the Irish Hierarchy to Fr. Delany and the College were further voiced by the Archbishop of Tuam, who said in their name: "I must state my conviction that, except for University College and the lesson it had taught all thinking men in the Empire we could never in our time have obtained a favourable settlement of the question of University education in Ireland." He then went on to say that he hoped a brighter day was about to dawn for all without distinc-

tion of politics or religion, and when that day came, "he took the liberty of also hoping that neither the present nor the future generation would ever forget the labours of the man who had led the forlorn hope and brought his people to the promised land." The Supreme Pontiff had sent a special Benediction which was communicated to the assembly.

The Archbishop of Dublin was not present at the dinner; but in the following month he accepted the invitation of the Sodality to offer in the Chapel a Jubilee Mass of Thanksgiving, and subsequently to be entertained at a College Breakfast. The ceremony took place on November 11, and a large assembly met in the Aula Maxima. His Grace responded to a toast in his honour, and spoke very handsomely about Fr. Delany and the work done by the College under his government and inspiration. The sincerity of tone as well as of words were impressive, and Father Delany appeared to be quite overcome by the Archbishop's warm congratulations on the main work of his life.

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In September 1908 the British Association met at Dublin, when the Royal University and University College joined with Trinity College in preparing for the meeting and for various entertainments connected with it. The recent formation of the Classical Association of Ireland enabled those interested in ancient archaeology and learning to co-operate effectually with the Anthropological Section of the British Association which of recent years had devoted special attention to Mediterranean culture.

A feature which aroused considerable interest among

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members of the Geographical Section was an exhibition by Fr. T. Corcoran, S.J., in the Royal University of maps on a giant scale, largely illustrating Greek and Roman and Irish History, which he had designed and executed by methods not previously so elaborately applied. Among those who viewed the exhibition and expressed their admiration of it, was an eminent authority from Oxford who desired to see the more important maps, in particular an ethnical map of the whole Mediterranean area, reproduced and published for educational use. Although this was an attractive suggestion, Fr. Corcoran, who was about to take up a new Chair of Education, was prevented from carrying it out by more urgent duties. An experiment of a different sort was carried out in the Hall of the College of Physicians by Professor Browne with the aid of Mr. (afterwards Professor) Robert O'Dwyer, in a somewhat bold attempt to express in terms of our diatonic music, rendered by modern instrumentation and chanting, the rhythm and spirit of Greek choral melody. Certain strophes from Pindar's Olympian Odes and a chorus of the *Ædipus Rex* of Sophocles, were selected; the existing fragments of later Greek melody were called into play, along with other simple musical phrases based entirely upon the rhythm as shown by the choral metres. These melodies were submitted to Mr. O'Dwyer who very cleverly orchestrated them for a string quartette to represent the 'Kithara,' together with wood-wind instruments to represent the 'Aulos.' The chorus, supplied by Professor Browne's students and members of the College Choral Union, sang with only a slight divergence from unison, and with some



exaggeration of the rhythmical emphasis. This enabled the audience to grasp the main idea of the experiment, which was briefly explained by the Professor before the performance of each piece. The verdict of distinguished scholars was very favourable; and among them Professor Butcher, who presided, afterwards remarked that he considered it one of the most interesting features of the Dublin Meeting of the Association. At a later date records were taken of the renderings by means of an Edison Phonograph which were employed by Professor Browne in America during a tour of enquiry which he undertook for the Educational Section of the British Association. At Harvard and Columbia Universities, and at Chicago at a meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West Provinces, audiences expressed themselves as highly pleased with the method adopted to illustrate the true character of Greek Choral music.

We have still to describe the actual transference of the College and the conditions under which it was effected. Two distinct Statutory Commissions were appointed by the Act, one for Dublin and one for Belfast, the names of the Commissioners having been proposed in an amendment moved in the Upper House by Lord Crewe, on July 30, 1908. Those for Dublin, ten in number, were: Chief Baron Palles (Chairman), The Archbishop of Dublin, Professor Denis Coffey, Professors Jackson of Cambridge and Rhys of Oxford; Presidents Anderson and Windle; Sir William Butler, John Boland, M.P., and Stephen Gwynn. All the appointments in the new College were in their hands, and it was agreed that in regard to Professorships, the

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existing staff of University College must be retained, or (as happened in a few cases) pensioned off.

The President of the new College, it will be remembered, was to be a layman. Several candidates were mentioned, most of whom were on the Professoriate of the College or the Medical School, which would now be incorporated in the College.

The announcement that Dr. Coffey was to be appointed gave universal satisfaction; for he was a distinguished Graduate of University College as well as Doctor of Medicine of Cecilia Street. In addition to his outstanding ability in science and letters, his power for organization had become apparent, while his devotedness to his religion and nation, as well as to academic work, marked him out as the right man from every point of view.<sup>4a</sup>

The work of the Commissioners in regard to appointments to Chairs and other posts in the Dublin College was not a simple job; on the whole their policy and selections met with approval at the time, and have been fully justified by results. Although they intended to secure what continuity was possible, it was perhaps inevitable that there should be some disappointments; in particular their dealing with several members of the old staff caused criticism, and not a little soreness. Fr. Hogan's advanced age was perhaps sufficient reason for pensioning him off; we prefer not to discuss the decisions regarding persons still living, not all of them priests, whose past services appeared to many to be under-appreciated. It is more pleasant to refer to

<sup>4a</sup> We should like to state that the preparation of this volume was undertaken in no small degree owing to the inspiration and encouragement of President Coffey.

certain important new appointments, such as those of Fr. T. Corcoran (afterwards D.Litt.) to the Chair of Education, as already mentioned; Dr. Macalister to that of Celtic Archaeology; Mr. John McNeill and Miss Mary Hayden to Chairs of Irish History; and Miss O'Farrelly to a Lectureship in Irish. Again, the appointments of Dr. Cronin to the Chair of Ethics and Fr. Shine of Logic and Psychology, as assessors of Mr. Magennis, Professor of Metaphysics, secured for the College a strong School of Scholastic Philosophy. There were, of course, several new Departments, as those of Engineering, Architecture, and Commerce; while on the Medical side, the existing Staff of Cecilia Street was strengthened by additional names of repute.

In regard to Scholastic Philosophy, the Commissioners for the new Belfast University, a different body mainly Protestant, had decided to found a Chair of Scholastic Philosophy which a Catholic clergyman would probably hold, and which would make provision for a dual course like that of the Royal University now abolished. Such a strong feeling was aroused against this arrangement among the Presbyterians of Northern Ireland that they determined to appeal to the Privy Council to have the proposal squashed. The argument put forward was that such a Chair would be for Catholic propaganda and entirely opposed to the non-denominational principles which were to govern the Belfast University.

Professor T. A. Finlay, who was practically the founder of the dual system, was called by the Defence to give evidence before the Court on this very delicate

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question. He maintained against the Counsel for the Petitioners that in his experience as Professor of Mental Philosophy in University College, when his students had belonged to various religions, there was no difficulty on the score of religious belief. There was no necessity for a professor while teaching Philosophy, to maintain any special religious doctrines; as a matter of fact in the Catholic Schools of Philosophy no appeal was made to authority but only to pure reason. In maintaining this position, Fr. Finlay had to stand a severe and complicated cross-examination of several hours; but his answers were so clear and convincing, and he proved the principle of Catholic freedom in the purely intellectual sphere so triumphantly, that he won the minds of the judges and obtained a unanimous verdict for dismissing the appeal.<sup>5</sup> As a result Rev. Professor O'Keeffe was appointed to the new Chair in Belfast, where his teaching was so well approved that in the year 1924 he was invited to the Dublin College to succeed Professor (now Monsignor) Cronin in the Chair of Ethics.

In regard to the Dublin appointments as affecting the continuity of the New College with the Old, it should be stated that in addition to the transference (substantially) of the St. Stephen's Green Staff, quite a number of the new appointments were of men educated at University College, and some of them had been on the teaching staff though not Professors. Such were John M. O'Sullivan, M.A., who got the Chair of

<sup>5</sup> Father Finlay's victory was considered of such importance to the cause of Higher Education for Catholics, that his evidence was re-printed in pamphlet form and widely circulated by the Catholic Truth Society.

History; T. M. Kettle, M.A., the Chair of National Economics; Charles Doyle, M.A., James Murnaghan, LL.D., and Arthur Clery, LL.B., Chairs in the Faculty of Law, and W. M. Crofton, M.B., and W. Bailey Butler, M.B., in that of Medicine.

Membership of the new College and constituent rights, such as the power of electing to the governing body, were restricted in the first instance to those who had belonged to the older institution.<sup>6</sup>

It has been already remarked that in the College at St. Stephen's Green the Register<sup>7</sup> of Students had been faithfully kept and was at hand for deciding membership and right of voting in the new College—a fact which rendered the transition practicable and easy. Nor could anything on the legal side emphasise more clearly than the above provision the real continuity between the earlier system and the later.

The Literary and Historical Society, which, our readers know, traced its existence to the time of Newman, was insistent in maintaining its continuity with the Society which had been a distinguished ornament of the old College in St. Stephen's Green. To make their position more secure they referred the matter to Counsel, who did not, we believe, give a very definite opinion upon the question submitted, but certainly did not rule out the favourable decision. This desire of the members though of secondary import, yet undoubtedly did form an important link

<sup>6</sup> The same principle was followed in the organization of the National University, in that those who had rights of membership in the Royal were empowered to exercise them in the newly erected University.

<sup>7</sup> Printed as an Appendix to this volume.

with the life of the old College. At its commencement the new College had to be carried on partly in the old buildings at St. Stephen's Green. Only two years before the change, the existing Chemical class-room had been converted into a laboratory, and a new theatre had been erected together with the building known as the "Garden class-rooms." These improvements were now to be used temporarily. It is true that the Royal University buildings in Earlsfort Terrace were put at the disposal of the new College, and these gave considerable accommodation, especially to the Faculty of Science. The fine block of laboratories erected by the Senate of the Royal for examination purposes, were now put to more important use; and are still in occupation. Moreover, in the old exhibition building there were some spacious halls now made available for College purposes. But there was nothing like sufficient space at Earlsfort Terrace for all the work to be undertaken, and consequently the premises in St. Stephen's Green were still indispensable. The Jesuit Fathers held the property by lease from the Bishops as trustees of the old Catholic University, and they were now requested to transfer the lease to the new College. This they consented to do at short notice, and it became necessary for them to find provision elsewhere for themselves and the handful of Resident Students who had been located in the upper storeys of No. 86 and adjoining houses.

The Community were fortunate in finding vacant a large house in the neighbouring Upper Leeson Street, which had a deep garden extending to Hatch Street,

and possessed also well-constructed out-buildings.<sup>8</sup> For the Residents they took Winton House, not far from the top of Leeson Street; but after about two years Mr. Charles Kennedy (a relation of Chief Baron Palles) bequeathed a large sum of money for erecting a proper Residence for University Students. Fr. Delany was again fortunate in acquiring a suitable piece of ground in Hatch Street (abutting upon the Leeson Street garden); and he built upon it the fine hostel known as University Hall, which gives separate accommodation for over sixty Undergraduates, and contains a large Sodality Chapel.

Plans were adopted for the really splendid College in Earlsfort Terrace, and its construction put in hand; but owing to the War and other causes it was slow of completion, so that the premises in St. Stephen's Green could not be fully vacated till the summer of 1917.<sup>9</sup> University Hall is at the date of writing the only Hostel recognized by the College for lay men students; and the Rector is officially recognized by the Governing Body as Dean of Residence for his own Undergraduates. For the main body of Collegians, who are mostly non-resident, the Jesuit Fathers are, of course, no longer responsible; Catholic Deans of Residence belonging to the secular clergy and nominated by the Archbishop provide the religious instruction and certain devotional exercises.<sup>10</sup> When the scheme of the National University came into operation, there was

<sup>8</sup> For many years they also occupied the adjoining house in Leeson Street, but subsequently relinquished it.

<sup>9</sup> The old Catholic University is still rented from the Bishops by the College, but is not in use.

<sup>10</sup> It need hardly be said that no payment from College Funds is permissible for services given in regard to religion.

in some quarters apprehension that on account of its non-denominational constitution, religion might suffer from neglect. This feeling was voiced by Cardinal Logue who, though he, like the rest of the Bishops, had felt constrained to accept the arrangement, spoke publicly of the new University with its Colleges as a "Godless Bantam." In point of fact, religion is recognized at Earlsfort Terrace and flourishes. Sessions at the Dublin College open with High Mass and Sermon in the University Church, at which a select preacher, generally a Bishop, addresses the President, the Staff, the Graduate and Undergraduate members of the College, all present officially and in academic costume, and necessarily as a wholly voluntary act of devotion.

Courses of Public Lectures on Religion are given in the College, hitherto by a Jesuit, appointed by the Governing Body with the rank of Professor—the only condition being made that no salary for such a Chair can be provided out of public money.<sup>11</sup> We have already referred to the Clerical Deans of Residence who are in charge of the religious teaching as well as, to some extent, of the moral discipline of the non-resident undergraduates. There is a large element of students preparing for an ecclesiastical career, both regular and secular, and it may be assumed that in proportion as their vocation develops their presence among the students will be beneficial in a religious sense. The priestly element on the Staff is also to be borne in mind, and the Jesuit Fathers at University Hall, though

<sup>11</sup> The Bishops have, however, provided a moderate salary for such lectures from Catholic sources.



their direct responsibility for the College has ceased, yet are mindful that by means of their alumni they can still exert some priestly and Catholic influence outside of their own dwelling-place.<sup>12</sup> Thus the religious atmosphere which characterized St. Stephen's Green has been in nowise injured by the transference of the College to Earlsfort Terrace.

<sup>12</sup> That residents of the Hall hold their own in the College is evident from the following facts. At the time of writing (1928) they boast of four members on the Rugby Team, and one on the Soccer XI. One resident took a medal at the Boxing Tournament; and another won a medal for First Year Debating in the Literary and Historical Society of the College. The actual Auditor of that Society is a past member of the Hall. In their medical examinations the residents have done excellently—on a single occasion passing 90 per cent. of those presenting themselves.

## CHAPTER XVI.

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### “THE PASSING OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.”

PROFESSOR A. CLERY, LL. D.



## “THE PASSING OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE.”

<sup>1</sup>“As I write, the end has come. My old Alma Mater is no more. A hearse-like furniture van stands at the door to excite the curiosity of the chance passer-by. Strangers called it ‘Stephen’s Green.’ Among ourselves we knew it as ‘The College.’ We differed from them in much else as well, and not always, if one old University College man may express his views, for the worse. Personally, I shall never regret that the College, that is just now closing its doors, and not any more famous seat of learning, was my place of instruction, let theorists argue as they will in a contrary sense. If University College of old had any special defect, it was really that it was too true a University, and complied overmuch with the ideal of culture for its own sake. Students from other places of education were, indeed, more likely to succeed in the world, even in the world of educational promotion, just for this reason, that their intellectual training was less complete. That I should thus exalt the training of my old College above that of other universities may, perhaps, be set down to mere filial piety. Yet, if outsiders had known the brilliant and varied college life that existed behind the shabby exterior of the St. Stephen’s Green buildings, they might be more of my way of thinking.

<sup>1</sup> Written for *The Leader* in 1909.

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"Some of the men of that time are already on the road to distinction in science, in philosophy, in public life, in various paths of effort. Others may never fulfil their early promise. It is all but a memory now. But the College life, which had these men in the first promise of youth as its chief figures was indescribably brilliant and interesting. The period of which I speak began with the return of Father Delany, S.J., to the Presidency of University College in 1897. For some time before there had been a period of slumber in College affairs. His coming back brought about a revival. The first organ of College life to take on a new vitality was the Literary and Historical Society. It had perished in the troubled times of the 'eighties, and it was now revived largely through the efforts of the late Dr. Coyne, and of Mr. Walter Callan. It was, indeed, the third revival, for the 'Literary and Aesthetical,' or as the students dubbed it, 'Atheistical' Society of the old Catholic University had perished long since. In the early days of the revival, the attendance was small, and it is on record that, standing orders being suspended, two students once sustained the debate for a whole evening.<sup>2</sup> But the new institution became popular ere long. No human beings were ever so proud of themselves as we, the committee, when we first held a public inaugural meeting, that could vie with those of Dublin University in its splendours. The Society received constant support and encouragement from Father Thomas Finlay and Mr. William Magennis, his brilliant pupil.

<sup>2</sup> The late Mr. Sheehy-Skeffington and the present writer.

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Upon our young and impressionable natures the intellectual influence of two such men was very powerful, and I think we all strove to imitate them more or less. And no one was a more frequent participant in its debates, and more interested in its welfare, than Father Joseph Darlington, S.J., a man, the kindness and simplicity of whose character almost hid his real intellectual acumen. Of the whole College Staff, indeed, he was, perhaps, the most keenly interested in every phase of College life.

"The College Sodality also began to excite a new interest. Spiritual positions in connection with it became the object of fierce competition among the students. Concerts also became a prominent feature of College life, and a choral union was soon to spring into being. It was always a moot point whether it was the concerts themselves or the tea and cake which invariably accompanied them that attracted such thronging audiences. The most popular features of the concerts in those days were the Gaelic songs. At the time I speak of, the Gaelic League was beginning to get into its stride, and nowhere was the new movement accepted with more enthusiasm than among the students of University College. Voluntary Gaelic classes became the rage. Sophocles and O'Growney, Higher Plane Curves and O'Growney, Hegel and O'Growney, became the recognised diet of the various classes of students. Ireland owes the College at least one well-known Gaelic singer, Mr. Clandillon. Yet the new movement, by giving us students an ideal, raised the tone of our lives, and an

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exceptionally high moral standard prevailed among us.<sup>3</sup>

"There was, at all times, a considerable interest taken in athletics, but we were heavily handicapped in this respect by want of resources, and St. Stephen's Green, unfortunately, offers no facilities for boating. But the greatest feature of College life, the College paper, *St. Stephen's*, has yet to be spoken of. Many people look back upon it as one of the cleverest papers ever published in Dublin. It was conducted by a students' committee, but Professor Browne, S.J., turning aside from Grammatical and Homeric studies, had not a little to say to the conduct of it. It was 'unprejudiced as to date of issue,' as it once editorially declared, but made some attempt to appear monthly. Humour was its strong point, and it waged unceasing war with the Choral Union. Auditors, too, experienced a treatment in its columns much different from that of the speakers, who talked of their brilliant and suggestive addresses at the inaugural meetings of the debating society. 'The ladies' column, alleged to be, but not always in fact, the composition of a girl graduate, was a point of much difficulty. Lady students always cavilled at it as being too frivolous.

"The rather juvenile staff observed one rule in conducting the paper which showed a wisdom beyond their years. Stability was secured by the remarkable principle (I now reveal it for the first time)

<sup>3</sup> Readers of Mr. James Joyce will get a different impression, but this is the actual fact. Among the students of the college about this time were—P. H. Pearse, T. M. Kettle, F. Sheehy-Skeffington. Joyce is true as far as he goes, but confining himself to one small knot of medical students he gives a wrong impression of the whole.

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that there should always be two *dull articles*. I wonder if, when Professor X received a request to describe his visit to the sources of the Ganges, he had any inkling that he had been fixed upon by the staff as the writer of one of the *dull articles* for the coming month. Yet it was so. It must have been the neglect of this saving principle that eventually caused the subsequent College trouble, in the course of which the journal perished after a comparatively long and brilliant career. But, if I were to speak further of the old College, and tell of a dozen other societies and institutions that flourished there, from the Chess Club to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, I should become garrulous. It was a brilliant chapter of life to be looked back upon. When the old University College is in the present month absorbed in a new and more extensive institution, the book will be closed. As I pass by the old place, now occupied by new men with new problems, I shall think a little, wondering if the College men, in their new circumstances, will have as bright, as brilliant, as full a life as we had in the old time."





## APPENDIX TO VOLUME.

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### THE COLLEGE REGISTER.

*This is a transcript of the Register of the old College now preserved among the archives at Earlsfort Terrace. The entries are given as they occur, that is, session by session in order of the Students' Matriculation. The names, which are mostly autograph signatures, total 2755.*

1883.

Joseph Cagney  
James O'Dwyer  
Joseph Darlington  
John O'Neill  
Martin Maher  
John Andrew McNerney  
Henry Chas. McWeeney  
Jerome A. Heelan  
Walter Raleigh  
John Guinan  
John Dunn  
Peter Kirk  
Edmund Young  
John Byrne  
Patrick Murphy  
Francis Brannan  
Kevin O'Meagher

John Lyons  
Patrick Lynch  
Eugene J. Downing  
Wm. P. Coyne  
Joseph Cahill  
Joseph G. Tunney  
Henry Foley  
Thomas Maher  
John Rimmer  
Edward O'Brien  
Henry Dixon (Junior)  
Hugh Boyd  
Charles Power  
Mm. E. Garland  
Patrick J. Moore  
John Ronayne  
Michael Judge

John Purcell  
M. J. Geary  
Carter Howard  
Paul R. Dillon  
James F. Barrett  
W. Herbert Cowell  
Edward F. Scanlon  
John Nolan  
Joseph Lube  
Peter O'Reilly  
Wm. Jno. Molloy  
Michael Smith  
Neil MacDonald  
Jas. Jos. Murphy  
Robert Donovan  
J. V. Duggan  
Louis Carvill  
Denis G. Peart  
James Chas. Hart  
Patrick S. Dinneen  
A. J. Moore Macardie  
Elias Seaver  
Joseph Eyre  
Joseph O. Wrafter  
William Gwynne  
Michael McHugh  
Nicholas J. Tomkin  
Thomas F. Woodlock  
E. J. Hughes Dowling  
Charles F. Doyle  
Edward J. McWeeney  
M. T. Phelan  
Joseph McDonnell  
Michael Browne  
Timothy Guinice  
J. D. O'Byrne

Pat. J. Hayden  
W. J. Brayden  
Thomas Esmonde  
Frederick Maguire  
Michael Mahony  
James Malone  
James McKendy  
Daniel O'Brien  
William McCormack  
John Jos. O'Neill  
Denis Murphy  
J. J. Whitaker  
James Murphy  
George O'Neill  
Wm. Gleeson  
Ralph Leeson  
Hugh A. McNeill  
V. L. Watts  
Michael F. Dwyer  
M. P. Wall  
A. Clinch  
Richard J. Connell  
Ds. Morris  
James Hegarty  
John Joseph Kenny  
Joseph W. S. Ledwith  
Frank T. Dunne  
John Maher  
Wm. Delany  
A. Kelly  
H. Walpole  
W. Errington  
Samuel W. Wilson  
Daniel McDonnell  
James T. Gosson  
Henry A. Hinkson

James K. West  
Matthew T. Brady  
James Boyd  
John Martin  
Thomas Woods  
James H. Mulkern  
Patrick J. Ryan  
William Kerr  
Ignatius Farrelly  
C. F. Mullane  
P. G. Sigerson  
Joseph J. Farrell  
J. Delany  
Leslie J. Gill  
J. Carroll  
Joseph B. McGrath  
Joseph P. Clarke  
Eugene O'N. Clarke  
John G. Brenan  
Francis Delany  
Wm. Hearn  
William Moylan  
Nicholas Devereux  
Martin J. Dempsey  
John H. Hastings  
William J. Molloy  
Denis J. Coffey

Chas. W. Burnett  
Francis Kenny  
John W. Bacon  
Wm. F. Nolan  
Edmund O'Reilly  
Dan Gallagher  
Michael R. Hawe  
John Power

William Rowantree  
Aloysius Quigley  
Laurence McKlely  
John Byrne  
Edward Tierney  
Thomas Brady  
Nicholas Comerford  
Thomas Keller  
John Snowden  
James O'F. Malone  
John J. Phelan  
Eugene O'Sullivan  
Edward J. Gilleran  
Luke M. T. Nolan  
John Chevers  
James Flanagan  
William A. Kelly  
Walter Joyce  
John Joyce  
John J. Flynn  
John J. Haugh  
Edward Tierney  
John Egan  
Randal MacCarthy  
Peter McKenna  
John A. Corcoran  
John J. Healy

1884.

Michael J. Jordan  
John J. Fleming  
Wm. O'Gorman  
Wm. R. Nolan  
John F. Whittington Howley  
Thomas McDermott  
Francis J. Teevan  
George Ryan

<b>Gerald Monaghan</b>	<b>William Butterly</b>
<b>John Joseph Browne</b>	<b>J. J. K. O'Kennedy</b>
<b>Patrick O'Ratigan</b>	<b>Francis MacBreen</b>
<b>Rev. Jas. Mulkerrin</b>	<b>Richard White</b>
<b>David Kennedy</b>	<b>Robert Morrow</b>
<b>Daniel O'C. Fitzgerald</b>	<b>— Mulreany</b>
<b>Jas. P. M. Hickson</b>	<b>Joseph Hearn</b>
<b>John Bowden</b>	<b>Walter R. Cohen</b>
<b>James Churchill</b>	<b>Edward McDonald</b>
<b>Redmond J. Roche</b>	<b>Joseph Kilgarreff</b>
<b>Pierce L. Nolan</b>	<b>Martin Wheeler</b>
<b>Arthur George Barraclough</b>	<b>Joseph Tyndall</b>
<b>Phillip Ronayne</b>	<b>Edward N. Greer</b>
<b>Wm. Magennis</b>	<b>John F. O'Meara</b>
<b>John J. McDonagh</b>	<b>M. J. O'Connor</b>
<b>Joseph M. S. Kehoe</b>	<b>F. J. Gregg</b>
<b>Joseph W. D'Arcy</b>	<b>Charles A. McEvoy</b>
<b>Thomas Sandes</b>	<b>John Ashlin</b>
<b>Arthur Pyle</b>	<b>Joseph Cassidy</b>
<b>Denis Slyne</b>	<b>Aloysius Myers</b>
<b>Joseph L. Keane</b>	<b>Andrew Ivory</b>
<b>Robert Fred. Carse</b>	<b>Malachy Gavin</b>
<b>Geo. McAlister</b>	<b>Kevin McKeown</b>
<b>Patrick Short</b>	<b>Osmond Cooke</b>
<b>Patrick F. Harte</b>	<b>Constantine O'Hara</b>
<b>J. Thornton Quirke</b>	<b>Ambrose Gorman</b>
<b>Wm. Lynch</b>	<b>Angelo Bermingham</b>
<b>Jno. J. Eckersley</b>	<b>Adrian Cole</b>
<b>J. A. Stewart</b>	<b>Edwin Gavin</b>
<b>Nathaniel Robert Haskins</b>	<b>David Waring</b>
<b>Henry Moore</b>	<b>Guy B. Pilkington</b>
<b>Bernard Hilton</b>	<b>Patrick H. Daly</b>
<b>Constantine Quinn</b>	<b>Patrick Dowling</b>
<b>John G. Woulfe</b>	<b>W. Henry</b>
<b>Henry Fegan</b>	<b>Joseph Doyle</b>
<b>Charles Clinton</b>	<b>Robert Hardiman</b>

John F. Ward  
P. P. O'Connor  
Wm. O'C. Kelly  
Garrett A. Hickie  
William Killingley  
Louis Ely O'Carroll  
Wm. Curran  
Michael Buckley  
Maurice Cotter  
D. J. O'Brien  
Brian O'Connor  
P. J. Hullen  
T. Lawless  
John W. Griffin  
M. W. Curran  
John Denis O'Callaghan  
Joseph O'Brien  
T. B. MacMahon  
Fras. W. Morgan  
T. Donnelly  
Stephen Patk. Moore  
John Joseph Coonan  
John E. Cruise  
John Rorke  
Edward Murray  
Edmond Byrne  
Bryan Kiernan  
Jno. M. Davies  
James Hehir  
John Fitzpatrick  
John Nolan  
Joseph Osmund Synnott  
James H. O'Rourke  
Patrick J. Lennox  
Edward R. Whelan  
Daniel O'Grady

James McDonnell  
Thomas C. Mahon  
Patrick Jas. Duffy  
Maximilian Waldburg  
Wolfegg  
Michael Staunton  
William Noonan  
Edward Coleman  
Geo Nesbitt  
John O'Sullivan  
Thomas A. Connellan  
W. M. Geary  
John Nugent McLoughlin  
James P. Byrne  
John O'Neill  
Robert P. Gardiner  
T. McGovern  
Herbert C. Mooney  
Philip F. Little  
George Byrne  
P. Flanagan  
Patk. O'Gorman  
Jos. Pat. Hardiman  
A. L. Wynne  
Henry O'Dea  
James Mansfield  
J. Brown  
Alfred E. Beckett  
Cornelius O'Driscoll  
Michael Caffrey  
J. N. Donnellan  
— Kelly  
Joseph Waldburg Wolfegg  
— Cotter  
Patrick Nee  
Thomas Joseph Irwin

1885

Henry Hugh P. Deasy  
 Michael Jos. Bulger  
 Patk. Raymond Keary  
 James Monaghan  
 Jos. Richard Boyle  
 Philip Alphonsus Brankin  
 Arthur Whitwell  
 Charles Smith  
 Matthias O'Rourke  
 Thomas P. McCann  
 J. J. Daly  
 P. J. McCurtin  
 Jos. O'Kelly  
 Thomas Gallagher  
 Thomas L. Molony  
 Edward J. Kean  
 Frank Hannan  
 Richard Kerin  
 Edward A. O'Byrne  
 Purcell O'G. Lalor  
 Francisco de Velasco  
 Miguel de Velasco y Castilla  
 Christopher J. O'C.

Fitzsimon

James Quigley  
 Thomas Fahey  
 Thomas Hill  
 George Peyton  
 James Waters  
 Joseph O'Hurley  
 John J. Gartlan  
 Joseph McNamara  
 Edward J. Hanlon  
 Thomas J. Boylan  
 Joseph J. O'Farrelly

Oliver J. O'Connor  
 Edward Michael Monks  
 Edward Purcell  
 Wm. M. Quinn  
 Jos. Boulger  
 Thomas Clinton  
 Thomas F. Glacken  
 William O'Carroll  
 W. Bernard A. Collins  
 John Felix O'Neill  
 Edward Stone  
 John Stone  
 Gustave Moorhead  
 Cecil Keenan  
 John Murray  
 James Broderick  
 George White  
 Henry Donnelly  
 Joseph Slattery  
 James B. S. Gaffney  
 David J. Ryan  
 Daniel Hanly  
 P. A. Daly  
 P. G. Lynch  
 H. Browne  
 Thomas Devlin  
 P. F. Clarke  
 Rev. Wm. Keane  
 Wm. Reilly  
 Charles Loup  
 James O'Donnell  
 Charles O'Brien  
 John Treanor  
 Gerald H. Kelly  
 John J. C. Healy

Thomas H. Donovan  
Denis O'Byrne  
Florence O'Sullivan  
John N. Muldoon  
Thomas Dinneen  
Thomas C. Cummins  
John E. Fleming  
F. H. Burroughs  
Arthur F. Plunkett  
Matthew Ledwith  
W. P. Hussey Walsh  
George O'Sullivan  
Jas. J. Hughes  
John McNamara  
David C. Simington  
John C. Byrne  
Joseph Convery  
Aloysius Dowling  
Eng. de La Roche-Souvestre  
Pat. Jos. Smith  
Michael J. Howley  
Edward Fitzgerald  
Wm. Zimmers  
Geo. H. Frost  
Pat. A. McGann  
Francis Convery  
James S. Duggan  
Bernard Kinlay  
Sergius Fegan  
John Daniell  
S. X. McShane

John Jos. Mulrany  
Jos. J. Breen  
Jaspar White  
Alfred Mulrany  
Samuel Preston  
Edward Wm. O'Reilly  
George F. Connolly  
John B. Fitzgibbon  
N. Palgen  
G. A. Stephenson  
Gerald Keating  
J. F. Gregg  
M. O'Shaughnessy  
W. O'Gallagher  
F. J. Egan  
Kirwan Jos. Healy  
W. R. Morris  
F. T. Wallace  
J. O'B. Keary  
J. H. McGee  
Thomas Kirwan  
Wm. O'Donnell  
Alfred James Lennan  
Michael Garland  
Edward Stephenson  
James D'Arcy  
Joseph J. Lynch  
R. J. Doyle  
J. Decourcy  
Charles W. Conry  
Samuel B. Carso

1886

Richard Madden  
Thomas Madden  
John Gwynne  
Arthur E. O'Connor

John Hogan  
George A. O'Connor  
John Jos. Beatty  
James Judge



<b>Wm. J. Fleming</b>	<b>James P. Kenny</b>
<b>James Smith</b>	<b>Thomas Howard</b>
<b>Wm. McCall</b>	<b>Wm. John Corbett</b>
<b>Richard Nangle</b>	<b>J. J. Thompson</b>
<b>Benjn. Carter</b>	<b>J. Clarke</b>
<b>James C. Mahoney</b>	<b>Pat. J. O'Connor</b>
<b>Joseph T. O'Brien</b>	<b>Thomas Mullins</b>
<b>Chas. W. Coghlan</b>	<b>John J. Bourke</b>
<b>Thomas MacSwiney</b>	<b>John O'Donnell</b>
<b>Andrew Bell</b>	<b>James Robertson</b>
<b>Arthur H. Moynihan</b>	<b>Robert J. Little</b>
<b>J. Blair Keogh</b>	<b>John Maunsell</b>
<b>Thomas S. Ennis</b>	<b>Michael McElroy</b>
<b>John H. Colvin</b>	<b>M. G. McElligott</b>
<b>John T. Lemass</b>	<b>John M. McDowell</b>
<b>Thomas Fitzgerald</b>	<b>Joseph P. Kelly</b>
<b>James J. Daly</b>	<b>Patrick J. Brady</b>
<b>James Hodge</b>	<b>George J. Cunningham</b>
<b>John A. MacCarthy</b>	<b>Richard T. P. Blake</b>
<b>Ben. C. Quarry</b>	<b>James J. Shee</b>
<b>J. K. Healy</b>	<b>Prosper Liston</b>
<b>Thomas Wilson</b>	<b>Wm. Devlin</b>
<b>Herbert C. Niall</b>	<b>John Lynch</b>
<b>James Mortell</b>	<b>James Delany</b>
<b>Michael J. Curry</b>	<b>Michael O'Shaughnessy</b>
<b>Joseph Ryan</b>	<b>Michael Halpenny</b>
<b>George Jameson Johnson</b>	<b>Robert Connell</b>
<b>Joseph Carlos</b>	<b>T. Cosgrave</b>
<b>F. J. Fay</b>	<b>L. F. Ward</b>
<b>R. Fair</b>	<b>G. Fleming</b>
<b>Robert Fahey</b>	<b>Chas. Clarence McCarthy</b>
<b>Pat. J. Hanway</b>	<b>Pat. J. Kelly</b>
<b>Richard White</b>	<b>John J. Murphy</b>
<b>Patrick White</b>	<b>Philip A. Higgins</b>
<b>J. E. O'Connor</b>	<b>Charles A. Ffrench</b>
<b>Laurence C. Dunne</b>	<b>John P. Purvis</b>

Wm. Bergin  
Samuel Reddy  
Robert Webb  
Robert Cunningham  
Jno. Kerr  
John Callan  
P. Garland  
James McMahon  
J. J. Johnston  
Edward Fitzgerald  
A. F. Tunstall  
Michael O'Kelly  
Wm. F. Ward  
Hugh Kiernan  
C. Rochford  
Ed. Kinsella Hill  
Denis Rouse  
Chas. Brodigan  
A. McHugh  
Samuel G. Crymble  
John E. O'Ryan  
George Quinn  
Francis Quinn  
Basil L. Dunne  
Joseph L. Fowler

Thomas O. Keane  
John M. Longford  
Thos. W. Fitzpatrick  
Charles J. McNeill  
Richard A. Coates  
James C. McWalter  
David J. Bennett  
John Alexander  
D. Rutledge  
Daniel Dolan  
Jas. E. S. Condon  
John Gahan  
William B. Kelly  
Laurence J. Nolan  
Cornelius T. Shea  
Michael J. Moynihan  
Joseph P. Connolly  
Wm. J. M. Jackman  
Joseph Quinn  
William Payne  
Thomas McCulla  
Frederick Count Stolberg  
John Jos. Yorke  
Jas. J. Fitzgerald  
D. V. Quinn

1887.

Albert Weddick  
Michael J. Ryan  
Michael Nolan  
Laurence J. Dennehy  
Michael J. Buckley  
Alexander Blayney  
P. J. Fagan  
D. J. O'Neill  
Arthur Daly  
Chas. Reid

Owen Boland  
Christopher Woodney  
Edmund Parkinson O'Kelly  
Charles H. Fraser  
John J. Byrne  
George Bushy Long  
James J. O'Donnell  
John Manelis  
Michael J. Culligan  
Wm. H. Anderson

John J. F. Jessop  
 William O'Leary Curtis  
 Patrick J. Curtis  
 John Curtis  
 W. Ryan  
 Jos. L. McCair  
 Jos. A. Kindelan  
 Jeremiah Fegan  
 Patrick O'Dwyer  
 John M. Tighe  
 Thomas John Hunt  
 Timothy Jos. Hunt  
 Thomas Henry Delany  
 William M. Elliott  
 Robert J. Bourke  
 Daniel Kelly  
 G. Craig  
 R. Holt  
 E. Freehill  
 R. E. Devitt  
 J. J. Duffy  
 Chas. L. Birmingham  
 Joseph J. Gibney  
 Mark F. Cahill  
 Vincent E. McDonogh  
 John C. Abraham  
 Thomas Sands  
 Nicholas Lalor

Thomas Jas. Reynolds  
 Joseph P. Woods  
 Thomas L. Moore  
 Thomas McGuire  
 John Cosgrave  
 Joseph Bolger  
 James McDermott

Hugh P. Murphy  
 Joseph P. Gaffney  
 George Young  
 James Sheehan  
 Michael O'Sullivan  
 James Anglim  
 Patrick Bennett  
 Laurence Rowan  
 Joseph T. Fleming  
 P. J. Clarke  
 Joseph McMahon  
 W. Dalton  
 Jeremiah J. Harley  
 Henry Abraham  
 Joseph Uprichard  
 William N. Neligan  
 Thomas R. Nolan  
 Arthur R. Atkinson  
 Bernard Carty  
 Edward F. Bolger  
 James D. Daly  
 Stanislaus M. Dowling  
 Wm. T. Shaw  
 William E. Ord  
 John M. Stephenson  
 John B. Kelly  
 Patrick Gerety  
 Edward Jos. Malone

1888.

Dillon Cosgrave  
 John Scanlon  
 Michael O'Grady  
 Cyprina McCarthy  
 Pat. McHugh  
 Thomas Molloy  
 Patrick J. Hogan

**James Morell**  
**Walter S. Kinnear**  
**Thomas D. Sullivan**  
**Matthew J. Byrne**  
**Patrick F. Tighe**  
**John P. Condon**  
**Michael Flood**  
**William Ward**  
**Denis O'Riordan**  
**John Lloyd**  
**W. F. Keane**  
**Michael Traynor**  
**John Shine**  
**Henry Nowlan**  
**Thomas Cassidy**  
**John F. McNamara**  
**Frank E. Cleary**  
**Patrick Charles Doyle**  
**William McGrath**  
**Alex. Sullivan**  
**Michael Brady**  
**Joseph Peacocke**  
**Thomas Peacocke**  
**Pat. Jos. O'Byrne**  
**Thomas Cosgrave**  
**Wm. J. O'Brien**  
**Cornelius Little**  
**Andrew J. Quirke**  
**Francis Whitaker**  
**Francis Gallagher**  
**Peter F. Dolan**  
**Michael J. Tighe**  
**Joseph McKeever**  
**M. Gregg**  
**D. V. Leahy**  
**Michael O'Reilly**

**John S. Killen**  
**Michael J. Murphy**  
**John Kevin O'Reilly**  
**William Coates**  
**E. J. O'Hanlon**  
**Patrick Brady**  
**D. J. Magee**  
**J. J. McDonald**  
**John Dunne**  
**Jas. Plunkett**  
**Michael S. Bergin**  
**Michael V. O'Reilly**  
**John Sheridan**  
**Patrick Guidera**  
**Edward N. O'Neill**  
**Joseph Roantree**  
**James J. Myers**  
**Christopher J. Lyne**  
**Denis W. Murphy**  
**Peter P. Sheehan**  
**Thomas Brennan**  
**Joseph Holahan**  
**John J. Byrne**  
**M. J. O'Callaghan**  
**P. J. Scanlon**  
**T. Costigan**  
**J. W. Wallace**  
**James Murphy**  
**John Condon**  
**James J. Tyrrell**  
**Thomas Brady**  
**— Rammel**  
**Patrick McDonnell**  
**Patrick O'Brien**  
**Myles Kelly**  
**N. Duff**

**P. J. Swift**  
**Joseph Mulreany**  
**Henry F. Talbot**  
**C. O'K. Donegan**  
**Richard Gearty**

**Arthur Blayney Hamilton**  
**John A. Cosgrave**  
**Michael J. Gill**  
**Thomas Louis Kennedy**  
**Thomas J. Crean**

1889.

**Peter Thomas Gill**  
**Hugh M. Guilfoyle**  
**Oscar MacSwiney**  
**James J. Gibney**  
**Gerald Keon**  
**William J. Reade**  
**Henry J. Nugent**  
**Michael J. O'Brien**  
**John J. Buckley**  
**Laurence P. Byrne**  
**William Lynch**  
**Anthony P. Murphy**  
**Patrick Kearney**  
**Charles H. Cormac**  
**Denis Riordan**  
**William Greenfield**  
**Gerald W. A. Spratt**  
**John E. Spratt**  
**Robert Pat. Bond**  
**Herbert Sands**  
**John Swaine**  
**P. J. Leonard**  
**Samuel C. Bell**  
**William Phelan**  
**John Kelly**  
**Alfred Jones**  
**William Carbery**  
**Charles Hogue**  
**John Roughan**  
**John Smith**

**Hugh Carette**  
**Joseph T. Harper**  
**Patrick O'Neill**  
**William Huband**  
**Herbert E. Pitman**  
**A. C. Hayward**  
**Herbert Yourelle**  
**Patrick Lynch**  
**Robert R. McCutcheon**  
**A. P. Flynn**  
**R. J. Roberts**  
**Joseph P. Frengley**  
**Patrick Riordan**  
**Joseph Crean**  
**Mervyn J. P. O'Gorman**  
**Thomas H. O'Brien**  
**John J. Kelly**  
**Thomas C. Donnelly**  
**John Sharkey**  
**S. Hadden**  
**Richard Murray**  
**William J. White**  
**George Byrne**  
**W. C. Armstrong**  
**E. P. McLoughlin**  
**John Lavin**  
**Richard T. Dunlevy**  
**Robert A. McLoughlin**  
**John McLoughlin**  
**Wm. Jos. Read**

Anthony Jos. Kearney  
Joseph M. Quirke  
John Gerald Berne  
Thomas Power  
William S. Lee  
Louis J. Crinion  
Joseph Halpenny  
William Jos. Dargan  
Henry J. Gill  
Francis E. James  
John W. Slater  
P. J. MacHale  
E. P. Coogan  
Michl. P. O'Shaughnessy  
E. Warde  
Joseph Dolan  
Alec. Craig Barry  
David J. Murphy  
John J. Dolan  
Walter T. Murphy  
M. J. Smith  
Henry Schlegel  
Thos. M. O'Regan  
Michl. S. Egan  
P. E. Magennis  
John S. de Courcy  
John F. Ebrill  
M. Leahy  
James Reidy  
Hugh J. McNabb

Joseph Bridgeman  
Walter Walsh  
Daniel O'Donnell  
Pat. Jos. McKeever  
Robert M. Sheahan

Pat. J. Rooney  
Harry W. Briscoe  
J. D. O'Connor  
Joseph C. Molony  
James O'Neill  
Laurence Mooney  
George Kingston  
W. F. Butler  
J. W. Nowlan  
Jas. J. O'Neill  
James McDonogh  
John P. Walsh  
Cornellius J. Rafferty  
J. J. Fay  
James Byrne  
Louis J. Forrest  
John McTernan  
George C. O'Neill  
Bernard A. Conway  
Robert Daly  
Pat. Jos. Duane  
Patrick Gavin  
John Moore  
R. P. Hayes  
Edward Tynan  
Thomas J. Fennelly  
Charles Kenny  
John English  
James H. C. Davidson  
William F. Byrne

1890

John J. Cusack  
Thomas P. O'Carroll  
Thomas G. Fay  
Walter D. Meldon  
Robert Kirwan

John J. Daly  
Martin Doyle  
Matthew Fitzpatrick  
Alexander Bryson  
Pat. Denis Whiriskey  
Pat. M. MacSweeney  
John J. G. Keating  
Robert W. McClelland  
Wm. J. Devlin  
Arthur Ed. Cowley  
Richard Jos. Coleman  
Jos. M. J. Macken  
Augustine Magner  
Edward McHugh  
P. M. Quinn  
W. G. FitzHenry  
Thos. Devine  
John Sherlock  
Reginald T. Meagher  
Michl. P. Ryan  
St. Lawrence E. J. Devitt  
Gerald J. Bergin  
John L. Adams  
Edward Duffy  
Michael J. O'Kane  
Patrick Convery  
R. Garland  
T. Byrne  
Thos. Doran  
John Tehan  
John Keller, O.C.C.  
Hamilton J. Bell  
Francis Healy  
Francis M. Little  
Francis McNally  
Thomas Ross

John Kinsella  
Frank O'Connor  
M. J. O'Hanlon  
— Sweetman  
Arthur Roche  
A. Leventon  
James Murphy  
Edward J. Moore  
Jeremiah J. Meagher  
Louis Halligan  
Michael Walsh  
John O'Keeffe  
James Martin  
John Davis  
John Keogh  
Bernard Coyle  
Vincent Magee  
F. O'Connor  
P. Hamilton  
Jeremiah Foley  
Ed. McDonnell  
Ch. O'Gorman  
Ed. Moore  
Kevin P. O'Toole  
Laurence O'Toole  
J. O'Dwyer  
J. Conlon  
W. Darby  
Kiernan Delany  
John Neary  
R. Kennedy  
E. McDonald  
W. McCann  
M. Delany  
Charles J. Nolan  
S. Henry Fleming

**T. E. Woodward**  
**Robert Wm. Gibson**  
**Peter Golding**  
**Charles Flanagan**  
**Robert Moore**  
**J. C. Murray**  
**F. J. McCarthy**  
**Denis Condon**  
**Wm. Jones**  
**Nicholas Keane**  
**Lambert McKenna**  
**John McErlean**  
**Charles Thomas**

**Christopher Hyland**  
**Joseph Fox**  
**Joseph B. Anthony**  
**P. J. Dempsey**  
**B. McCaul**  
**R. Blacquiere**  
**W. Lalor**  
**K. Morris**  
**E. Halpenny**  
**P. McCarthy**  
**W. Murphy**  
**A. Young**

**1891.**

**Phillip P. Redmond**  
**Thos. J. Little**  
**Francis J. Crean**  
**Daniel O'Callaghan**  
**Henry E. R. Cruise**  
**James Cuffe**  
**Joseph T. Whelan**  
**Henry P. Levin**  
**Ignatius M. J. Conway**  
**Edward C. Walcott**  
**Joseph Cuffe**  
**John E. Stoer**  
**P. J. Gaynor**  
**J. S. Carbery**  
**Bernard MacFadden**  
**Henry J. Seymour**  
**Alfred Birmingham**  
**Joseph Alexander**  
**Henry Fleming**  
**David Stewart**  
**Tom Kelly**

**John H. Pilkington**  
**Fras J. Geoghegan**  
**J. G. McConnell**  
**H. F. Conlan**  
**J. J. McCarthy**  
**J. J. Douglas**  
**J. F. Comber**  
**R. J. Elliot**  
**R. Howell**  
**George Murray**  
**Denis Devlin**  
**Joseph F. Hanly**  
**D. J. Macaulay**  
**Bernard Carthy**  
**Martin J. McHugh**  
**A. P. Barber**  
**J. P. Nolan**  
**F. G. Marnan**  
**F. W. Johnston**  
**John Hackett**  
**Thomas Henry Barry**



<b>George Connor</b>	<b>J. Barry</b>
<b>Charles S. Gavin</b>	<b>T. Potter</b>
<b>Joseph E. Quigley</b>	<b>W. Lawler</b>
<b>Eugene J. Scully</b>	<b>J. B. Blewitt</b>
<b>John Kelleher</b>	<b>M. M'Gee</b>
<b>Abraham E. J. White</b>	<b>J. Morrissey</b>
<b>James A. Cullen</b>	<b>Jas. O'Reilly</b>
<b>Thomas Ebrill</b>	<b>J. Beveridge</b>
<b>Albert Power</b>	<b>John Shee</b>
<b>Thomas Newlan</b>	<b>W. Adrian</b>
<b>John Ryan</b>	<b>M. McGrath</b>
<b>George K. Finlay</b>	<b>John A. Nairn</b>
<b>Joseph McArdle</b>	<b>Henry Lennon</b>
<b>Thos. R. M. Kenny</b>	<b>Patk. Buckley</b>
<b>Martin R. Morrissey</b>	<b>Thos. J. Geoghegan</b>
<b>Patrick J. Kavanagh</b>	<b>Bernard S. MacDermot</b>
<b>Charles Connel</b>	<b>Denis V. O'Brien</b>
<b>Edward F. O'Sullivan</b>	<b>Joseph J. Nunan</b>
<b>Robert J. Murray</b>	<b>Bernard Leake Coleman</b>
<b>Fras. G. McCaughey</b>	<b>J. F. X. O'Brien</b>
<b>Jeremiah O'Neill</b>	<b>M. Doyle</b>
<b>James Barry</b>	<b>T. J. Murphy</b>
<b>Cornelius Murphy</b>	<b>C. R. Murphy</b>
<b>J. W. Carse</b>	<b>Richard H. White</b>
<b>P. J. MacCarthy</b>	<b>Pat. C. Denvir</b>
<b>R. Lavin</b>	<b>M. Quinn</b>
<b>Michl. J. Lyons</b>	<b>J. Noonan</b>
<b>C. Cusack</b>	<b>J. Tighe</b>
<b>W. Carroll</b>	<b>J. Cassidy</b>
<b>M. Mitchell</b>	<b>J. Gaynor</b>
<b>P. O'Dempsey</b>	<b>H. Griffith</b>
<b>J. Brogan</b>	<b>T. Sheehan</b>
<b>A. Gill</b>	<b>R. P. Farnan</b>
<b>R. Joyce</b>	<b>J. O'Donoghue</b>
<b>P. Ryan</b>	<b>J. A. Rice</b>

1892.

John J. McDonald  
John Enright  
John Fallon  
Wm. C. Gavin  
Pat. McGlynn  
John P. Sheridan  
Thomas Galvin  
Pat. O'Brien  
James Barry  
Thomas H. Chatterton  
Michl. Crowley  
John J. Hackett  
Pat. Kerley  
Mich. King  
J. C. Nolan Ferrall  
S. Henry Woods  
James Maguire  
Bartholomew J. Hackett  
James J. Burke  
— Kearns  
A. McKay  
A. McDonnell  
Jas. R. Duff  
J. O'Hart Devine  
J. Macken  
Herbert Hale  
James Bullen  
James Casey  
N. L. Johnstone  
T. Cleary  
T. Cassidy  
A. E. Lewis  
Edwin J. Lloyd  
George W. Keating  
Robert J. Talbot

John J. Kinsella  
Joseph Kavanagh  
A. P. Delany  
M. O'Hara  
John F. Egan  
Henry O'Connor  
Daniel Fox  
J. Geoghegan  
James M. J. Ferguson  
Bernard Hughes  
Samuel M'Allister  
Thos. Smyth  
P. McDermott  
E. O'Callaghan  
J. Rafferty  
M. Caffrey  
B. P. Healy  
D. J. O'Connor  
John Doran  
C. A. Costello  
W. Byrne  
Chas. John Moore  
Daniel J. Roantree  
J. McSweeney  
M. Dunne  
Daniel A. Mahony  
Thos. O'Hagan  
Stanislaus M. J. O'Farrell  
John Brangan  
Basil Quirke  
G. R. Taaffe  
J. M. Dunne  
Samuel A. McCann  
— Conway  
Edw. P. M. O'Flanagan

Vincent P. Tighe  
 P. Coleman  
 George Carroll  
 McCarthy Sheehan  
 V. Maher  
 Edward A. Collins  
 John Nelson Whiteman  
 Walter V. Coppinger  
 Wm. Armstrong Tynan  
 L. C. Moriarty  
 Samuel W. Evans  
 Wm. K. Rice  
 Cornelius Mulcahy  
 John Louis Palmer

John F. Begley  
 Laurence Potter  
 Timothy Corcoran  
 John Casey  
 Jas. Kirwan  
 Dominic Kelly  
 Chas. Doyle  
 Henry Gill  
 — Rahilly  
 John Sloan  
 Alfred J. Barnes  
 S. W. Strange  
 W. Shaw

1893.

Patk. J. Kane  
 Charles J. Griffin  
 Bernard F. Cerrigee  
 Charles J. Joyce  
 Wm. Vesey Hague  
 Harry C. Clifton  
 Daniel McCarthy  
 Pat. W. Murphy  
 Gerald Chris. Rooney  
 Wm. C. J. Kirwan  
 John McCabe  
 Patk. J. Boyle  
 Joseph C. Long  
 William H. Berry  
 Henry J. Marshall  
 Richard Lynch  
 Cyril Thunder  
 Kennedy J. O'Brien  
 Thos. Savage  
 William Dick  
 Frederick Price

Thomas Lord  
 J. A. Dooley  
 Hugh Devlin  
 Pat. Byrne  
 — Wilson  
 W. M. Joyce  
 Richard Jones  
 J. Sheridan  
 B. J. Burke  
 Henry Mangan  
 Francis W. McKenna  
 Timothy J. McGuinness  
 Patk. J. McGrath  
 Denis P. Kelly  
 John Murray  
 Michael McDonagh  
 Nell J. Blaney  
 George A. Reade  
 Henry Mason  
 Thomas Kelly  
 Thomas J. Fallon

Laurence Kelly  
B. A. O'Flynn  
P. Semple  
Alex. Black  
N. B. Fullerton  
Chas. W. Coury  
Edward Bermingham  
John Puraët  
Christopher Slattery  
Luke Larkin  
James Cogan  
James Byrne  
John Fahy  
John Corcoran

Patk. Nolan  
Stephen Cussen  
William Doyle  
Edward O'Donoghue  
William Grant  
Joseph O'Toole  
Michael Hanly  
Thomas Fleming  
Bernard H. Callender  
Thomas Walsh  
Kevin P. Carroll  
William Starkey  
J. M. McLoughlin  
D. J. Farnan

1894.

Joseph McCollum  
John T. Gerrard  
John Hooper  
Stephen Donohoe  
Joseph F. Joyce  
Alex. P. McAllister  
John A. Callen  
A. Conway  
Patrick Ryan  
Matthew J. Coman  
F. Nixey  
Alf E. Hurse  
Francis J. Meyrick  
David Buchan  
Wm. S. Edgar  
E. A. Morris  
Wm. O'Shaughnessy  
Jas. Coleman  
Hugh J. McCann  
C. Tighe  
Thos. Wilson

Edmond L. Sheahan  
Edward McGrenahun  
John S. O'Beirne  
Cornelius P. Laffey  
Fred. Murphy  
John A. McCarron  
Frederick Garland  
William Morris  
James Conry  
H. J. Smith  
John Mahalm  
J. F. Lynch  
Michael Drury  
Pat. J. Merriman  
— Lynch  
Bernard Comber  
W. L. Murphy  
Robert Kennedy  
Charles E. Geraghty  
Lorcan G. Sherlock  
James M. Greer

Patk. O'Reilly  
 James Ellis  
 Joseph Byrne  
 John Megannety  
 Francis J. Cahill  
 Michael A. Hartnett  
 C. Garnier  
 John T. O'Kelly  
 Joseph Sleith  
 Joseph Hooper  
 George Ebrill  
 D. McC. Downing  
 Stephen J. Devlin  
 John J. Goulding  
 James Curran  
 James T. Bodley  
 John Hartigan  
 John T. Grehan  
 Michael Malone Lee  
 Michael Curran  
 Myles G. Taaffe  
 Patrick J. Kavanagh  
 Peter G. Moran  
 Jas. H. Murphy  
 Alfred J. Frost  
 Frederick Ryan  
 Jos. J. Rahlilly  
 Thomas J. McDonagh  
 Joseph E. Hannigan  
 John J. Walshe

John Bassett  
 Vincent Cosgrave  
 Chas. James MacGarry  
 William J. Sheehan  
 Andrew T. Swan

M. D. McAuliffe  
 Robert Power  
 Edward P. O'Toole  
 Michael Comyn  
 Patrick Gavin  
 Joseph O'Keeffe  
 John H. Sheridan  
 Joseph Dodds  
 Robert Allen  
 Richard Healy  
 Charles W. O'Brien  
 Michael O'K. Crowley  
 P. J. Sherlock  
 Robert W. Stuart  
 James Gordon  
 Francis Lillis  
 Thomas B. Lillis  
 William Eustace  
 George McSweeney  
 Patrick J. Hooper  
 John F. Owens  
 Arthur D. O'Carroll  
 James T. Brady  
 Con Cremin  
 Patk. Doherty  
 H. E. S. Richards  
 W. F. Weir  
 Gilbert Phelan  
 John Phelan  
 Patrick O'Leary

1895.

Stephen Fitzpatrick  
 Michael Gallagher  
 Vincent Connolly  
 John T. Ryan  
 Joseph Sullivan

**Michael J. Landy**  
**Michael J. Downing**  
**Michael Keane**  
**Arthur W. Conway**  
**Denis J. McGrath**  
**Michael J. O'Reilly**  
**Edward W. MacDermot**  
**B. O'Neill Power**  
**H. Barry**  
**Arthur Barry**  
**Joseph Moody Simpson**  
**John J. Kennedy**  
**George Wiseman**  
**Patrick A. Maher**  
**Charles Ernest Moore**  
**James P. Ward**  
**Michael M. Quin**  
**J. Starkey**  
**James McCluskey**  
**Walter E. Callan**  
**Charles J. Murray**  
**McCartan Tighe**  
**Jas. O'Toole**  
**Jas. Hanway**  
**James O'Shea**  
**William Byrne**  
**G. Hammond**  
**John T. MacDonald**  
**John M. Taylor**  
**Eugene R. Kavanagh**  
**Francis S. Graves**  
**John J. Cleary**  
**William J. Dunn**  
**Robert Caldwell**  
**Edward Murray**  
**H. N. Ferrall**

**Peter D. Nolan**  
**Alphonsus Farrelly**  
**F. J. Abos**  
**C. F. White**  
**Henry E. J. Fay**  
**R. Halliday Ludlow**  
**Michael J. McDonagh**  
**Joseph Hartigan**  
**J. Dryden Smylie**  
**A. E. Maxwell**  
**Joseph McCleane**  
**D. E. Kennedy**  
**Thos. O'Carroll**  
**James Creed Meredith**  
**Fred Kennedy**  
**Michael Cronin**  
**James Gorman**  
**James Patrick Brady**  
**John F. Byrne**  
**James MacDonald**  
**Michael McDonogh**  
**John Carroll**  
**Michael Egan**  
**Michael G. Lavan**  
**Henry O'Neill**  
**Geo. Fred. Gillespie**  
**Edward O'Callaghan**  
**Richard Fleming**  
**Michael Morrissey**  
**Roderick O'Hara**  
**W. J. Dieighand**  
**Charles E. MacCarthy**  
**C. Hammond**  
**L. O'Sullivan Kelly**  
**Hugh Kennedy**  
**James McCloskey**

Vincent Rice  
 Christopher W. Nixon  
 Edward Dale  
 Edward Higgins  
 Edmund McAllister  
 Wm. Jos. O'Doherty  
 Wm. Dillon  
 Hugh Fitzpatrick  
 Thomas R. Pakenham  
 Charles E. Collins  
 John McCanley  
 William J. Warner

Edward Bourke Macaulay  
 William J. Wall  
 William R. Keilhor  
 Allen McDonald  
 Edward McDermot  
 Michael Laffan  
 William Kelly  
 George Kelly  
 M. Crowley  
 T. Aherne  
 D. Kelly

1896.

J. C. Skeffington  
 Arthur E. Clery  
 John Houlihan  
 Pierce Kent  
 Arthur O'Connell  
 Patrick J. Murray  
 Charles W. J. McDonnell  
 James Fitzgerald-Kenney  
 John C. Donnelly  
 Patrick Canavan  
 Michael Farrell  
 W. J. Deighan  
 Edward J. Grace  
 H. C. Linton  
 Denis Keating  
 John Valentine  
 D. J. McCarthy  
 Robert H. Lee  
 Hugh J. Kinlay  
 Thomas Phelan  
 James Thunder  
 Thomas A. Murphy  
 Francis O'Kane

Christopher Farrell  
 B. K. McNally  
 John McCarthy  
 Thomas Peyton  
 T. M. Steele  
 G. B. McIntosh  
 John Bell  
 Cecil Thunder  
 Edward Maguire  
 Christopher Dodd  
 John D. J. Cogan  
 Michael J. Ryan  
 Patrick Downes  
 Richard Murray  
 Joseph R. Cahill  
 Simon Broderick  
 Thos. Hayes  
 James S. Morris  
 Charles S. L. Close  
 E. Creagh Kittson  
 George W. Crowley  
 John J. O'Hara  
 T. H. Kennedy

**Fred G. Blake**  
**W. B. Sampson**  
**Patrick Heffernan**  
**Francis O'Hanlon**  
**Henry J. Kirwan**  
**Maurice L. O'Brien**  
**Patrick Buckley**  
**Patrick J. Maher**  
**Henry Bradshaw**  
**Wm. Allen**  
**Patrick Murphy**  
**W. McManus Keane**  
**Henry Kavanagh**  
**Michael Jos. O'Neill**  
**E. J. Rabbitt**  
**Jeremiah Crowley**  
**James Ed. Dixon**  
**James T. Wallace**  
**R. A. X. Wood**  
**William Valentine**  
**R. J. Carroll**  
**George A. Elliott**  
**Edward Sheridan**  
**J. J. Hutchinson**  
**Felix McCaffrey**  
**Patrick J. Wade**  
**James J. Leech**  
**John Aylward**

**Patrick Quinn**  
**Patrick O'Farrell**  
**John J. O'Neill**  
**Pat. C. O'Reilly**  
**Andrew Garland**  
**William Doheny**  
**John Sheahan**

**John J. McDonagh**  
**Ed. McCarron**  
**Ed. Collins**  
**Geo. A. Wrafter**  
**T. F. Hurley**  
**Richard J. Kerr**  
**James W. O'Meara**  
**Hyacinth A. Pelly**  
**Benjamin G. Robinson**  
**John Duffy**  
**John May**  
**David O'Sullivan**  
**G. V. Ryan**  
**Jas. Clandillon**  
**Plunkett Taaffe**  
**J. de la H. Guinan**  
**Denis C. O'Callaghan**  
**Jackson Wolfe**  
**Pat. J. Collins**  
**F. J. Keane**  
**Patrick Dobbyn**  
**Norman Willson**  
**William L. Johnson**  
**John P. Hickey**  
**Nicholas C. Shee**  
**John McSwiney**  
**John A. Cunningham**

1897

**Edwin Macinerney**  
**Denis J. Quinn**  
**Francis MacDonald**  
**Leo Wilkins**  
**Wm. Fallon**  
**Patk. Rutledge**  
**Enda B. Healy**



<b>John F. Meagher</b>	<b>Henry MacMahon</b>
<b>Henry Knight</b>	<b>John Kelly</b>
<b>T. M. Kettle</b>	<b>Hugh P. Devlin</b>
<b>Wm. O'Neill</b>	<b>James N. Meenan</b>
<b>W. J. Thompson</b>	<b>John W. McFarland</b>
<b>P. Mulleady</b>	<b>James M. J. Rhatigan</b>
<b>John Hogan</b>	<b>Roger Dwane</b>
<b>Peter Byrne</b>	<b>Chas. Henry Farmer</b>
<b>William Nunan</b>	<b>John Shiels</b>
<b>Ernest Mayne</b>	<b>Joseph Berry</b>
<b>Robert A. Cammack</b>	<b>Chas. P. Shaw</b>
<b>Samuel Breadon</b>	<b>Wm. T. Christian</b>
<b>James Connell</b>	<b>Robert L. Keown</b>
<b>Frank Fitzpatrick</b>	<b>Chris. J. Shaw</b>
<b>Thomas Power</b>	<b>Oliver St. John Gogarty</b>
<b>James A. Murnaghan</b>	<b>A. Mitchell</b>
<b>Pat. J. Dwyer</b>	<b>Robert J. Burke</b>
<b>D. Degaller</b>	<b>Nicholas J. Murphy</b>
<b>Wm. J. O'Connor</b>	<b>Francis Aylward</b>
<b>T. M. Allen</b>	<b>Daniel Buchenon</b>
<b>A. E. Horan</b>	<b>A. Leahy</b>
<b>Conor Byrne</b>	<b>— Fenelon</b>
<b>James McMichael</b>	<b>T. J. Power</b>
<b>W. H. C. Baskin</b>	<b>John Donohoe</b>
<b>John Byrne Henley</b>	<b>James S. Glover</b>
<b>Laurence Taylor</b>	<b>Jeremiah J. O'Rourke</b>
<b>James W. Erskine</b>	<b>A. V. Hendrick</b>
<b>Henry Powell</b>	<b>John Nevin</b>
<b>Francis A. Harmer</b>	<b>A. E. Holmes</b>
<b>Joseph Henry Kidd</b>	<b>W. T. Griffiths</b>
<b>William Danson</b>	<b>John Kelly</b>
<b>John De Bedick Saunderson</b>	<b>Richard P. Carroll</b>
<b>H. Shreider</b>	<b>Richard Davys</b>
<b>John Nolan</b>	<b>Martin Mortell</b>
<b>Edward Keogh</b>	<b>James H. Hegarty</b>
<b>Maurice Griffin</b>	<b>Henry J. Johnston</b>

**R. G. Meredith**  
**J. V. Clarke**  
**Patrick O'Brien**  
**Wm. Stewart**  
**G. F. Briggs**  
**John J. Power**  
**D. Hegarty**  
**J. T. Cullen**  
**Wm. Hughes**  
**Thomas Bolger**  
**Michael F. Looley**  
**Christopher Smullen**  
**W. J. Hadden**  
**Edward Rigley**  
**M. O'Brien**

**Gilbert Dawson**  
**W. G. Dowsley**  
**Patrick Bartley**  
**John Bithrey**  
**R. Dillon Kelly**  
**Patrick J. Tyrrell**  
**James Finucane**  
**W. P. Hackett**  
**John Barragry**  
**Arthur P. Barry**  
**John Brady**  
**J. J. Browne**  
**Geo. A. Byrne**  
**P. O'Connor**

1898.

**Robert Jos. Kinahan**  
**Laurence O'Neill**  
**James A. Joyce**  
**Arthur McDonnell**  
**Richard Sheehy**  
**Richard V. Slaterry**  
**Arthur E. Corbett**  
**John P. Punch**  
**Patrick J. Dwyer**  
**Albrecht Connolly**  
**Chas. T. Kennedy**  
**Martin Murphy**  
**Louis Jos. Walsh**  
**Francis Egerton**  
**Geo. Plunkett White**  
**Jos. O'Dea**  
**Geo. Michl. Collins**  
**Robert W. McCabe**  
**Wm. Jos. Ronan**  
**Thomas Jos. Delahunty**

**Edward B. Kenny**  
**John J. Clarke**  
**Felix Ed. Hackett**  
**John Marcus O'Sullivan**  
**Pat. R. Morris**  
**Chas. J. Moore**  
**John P. Moore**  
**Geo. Madden**  
**Daniel Jos. Boyle**  
**Robert J. Cahill**  
**Michael F. Farrell**  
**Joseph Dillon-Kelly**  
**Bernard M. Lynam**  
**Wm. Delany**  
**Maurice Fitzgerald**  
**Owen Clarke**  
**Pat. O'Connor**  
**Michael J. Black**  
**Joseph C. McHugh**  
**E. Ryan**

**Peter Walsh**  
**W. M. Crofton**  
**P. Daniel**  
**John J. Rogers**  
**George Clancy**  
**W. Smyth**  
**W. O'Malley**  
**P. Lavelle**  
**Harry Hayward**  
**Vere Brudenell Murphy**  
**Tennyson John D. Large**  
**Edward A. O'Hara**

**Constantine P. Curran**  
**Laurence Dunne**  
**John Gaffney**  
**William Cregan**  
**Laurence A. Kenny**  
**Thomas Barry**  
**Jno. J. Grimes**  
**Pat. J. Headen**  
**Vincent Mayne**  
**Thos. Dillon**  
**John P. Waters**  
**Richard Whelan**  
**Wm. S. Haughey**  
**J. J. H. Dowling**  
**Geo. W. Peart**  
**Thomas F. Bacon**  
**John M. Hayes**  
**Charles Farrell**  
**Richard D'Arcy**  
**Patrick McGrath**  
**James McConnell**  
**Edmund Power**  
**James Corboy**

**Chas. E. O'Brien**  
**Arthur E. Black**  
**Thomas Conway**  
**Arthur Stacy**  
**John L. West**  
**Patk. O'Callaghan**  
**Charles J. Barry**  
**H. Lyons**  
**T. J. Kelly**  
**E. T. Vaughan**  
**Wm. Mulcahy**  
**R. T. Gill**

1899.

**James B. Butler**  
**Thomas Walsh**  
**Albert L. McClelland**  
**E. J. Molony**  
**Joseph A. O'Halloran**  
**Thomas Lavery**  
**James Houlihan**  
**Patrick James Troddyn**  
**Michael Gullfoyle**  
**W. A. Burke**  
**Maurice P. Scanlon**  
**Daniel J. Reilly**  
**John J. O'Reilly**  
**James J. Maguire**  
**G. McCarthy Barry**  
**William P. Farrell**  
**Thos. Cronin**  
**Richard Flood**  
**John J. Kelly**  
**Thos. Rouse**  
**James Barrett**  
**O'Connell Sullivan**  
**Stephen M. Walsh**

**Jos. McArdle**  
**B. Meyers**  
**Wm. Glennon**

**Denis J. Keane**  
**Frank Callaghan**  
**V. McAllister**

1900.

**Pat. J. O'Reilly**  
**John Meade**  
**Jeremiah P. Slattery**  
**P. T. McArdle**  
**Joseph Kilgariff**  
**James Moughty**  
**Harold O'Connell**  
**Wm. O'Grady**  
**Ernest Lambkin**  
**Wm. Brennan**  
**Peter Dwyer**  
**John Smyth**  
**Daniel McCormack**  
**Walter P. E. Brady**  
**Joseph Murray**  
**James J. Flood**  
**Chas. Boyd-Barrett**  
**Jos. Boyd-Barrett**  
**C. J. Hughes**  
**W. F. Fox**  
**Eugene Sheehy**  
**James J. Hollywood**  
**Ambrose T. Griffith**  
**Rev. M. Walsh**  
**John Francis Walsh**  
**John Clarke**  
**Nicholas Donnelly**  
**Patrick F. Murphy**  
**Michael J. O'Grady**  
**John Jos. O'Reilly**  
**Daniel Boylan**  
**Denis Fitzgerald Condon**

**Edward Jas. Kavanagh**  
**Denis Thos. MacCarthy**  
**Thos. F. O'Doherty**  
**Pat. Steen**  
**Jos. Horan**  
**John Neary**  
**Reginald Galgey**  
**Cox J. Gordon**  
**John Devane**  
**Michael J. Ryan**  
**Edward M. O'Neill**  
**J. J. Treacy**  
**Richard M. Keane**  
**Henry Wm. Brennan**  
**John Wm. Beirne**  
**Timothy Meagher**  
**James Cecil Bobbett**  
**Maurice A. Power**  
**Michael F. Boylan**  
**Michael Waldron**  
**Samuel C. Porter**  
**Alex. Moore**  
**John J. Nolan**  
**Chas. Murphy**  
**John F. Collins**  
**Brendon Sullivan**  
**Edward O'Brien**  
**Matthew F. Kane**  
**James Y. Murray**  
**R. F. Gill**  
**John Gwynn**  
**Francis Browne**

**Patrick Gannon****J. Dwyer****J. J. Waters****Wm. Dawson****Michael Dawson****Ramon Velasco****Maurice Deschamps****1901.****Ed. Stephenson****Joseph J. Cosgrave****W. E. Graham****John P. Cahir****J. P. Carolan****Harold McCarthy****John Murphy****Thomas McGrath****Thos. Sullivan****Arthur P. O'Connor****Edward Kelly****John Devereux****John J. Shiel****G. Hanlon****Richard Kirwan****SEAMAS Ó CEANAIÚ****SEAGÁN UA DUBHSAÍLL****Timothy Driscoll****Joseph S. Doyle****Benjamin L. King****John E. Kennedy****Francis S. Conway****John J. Hooke****James Pinlott****David MacTwig****J. B. Rodney James****Christopher P. Dardis****Sarsfield P. Kerrigan****Francis Joseph MacCormack****Timothy F. Quinlan****Maurice Drummond****Dan. T. Sheehan****James Dooley****Gerald Donnelly****David Ryan****Fred. A. Horan****Espine F. Ward****C. S. Tighe****Patrick O'Callaghan****J. T. MacDonnell****E. P. Hearne****Jas. Early****Austin Morris****Richard J. Boyd****Cornellius J. Halpin****John R. Elwood****Patrick Ferns****Chas. H. G. Ross****Thomas Walsh****Louis Flannery****Victor R. Stokes****John Hannigan****Isaac Sieve****Jos. Butters****Geo. Egan****Francis McHugh****SEOSAM P. Ó LEANNAIN****Louis Cohen****Solomon Levy****Cyril Connolly****James Loton****George Egan**

**Augustus C. Ross**  
**C. Byrne**  
**J. M. Wade**  
**D. M. McMahon**  
**Joseph D. Cummins**  
**Patrick Maher**  
**Michael Breen**  
**P. O'Brien**  
**J. Judge**  
**W. P. Dunne**  
**F. Hazlett**  
**John J. Farrell**  
**John Ryan**  
**James A. Rearden**  
**John Gill**  
**Edward Meehan**  
**Daniel J. Hartly**  
**Gerald Nolan**  
**Harry T. Mellette**  
**Rev. D. O'Dea**  
**Rev. Charles T. Ghezzi**  
**W. Lenaghan**  
**Eva Fitzgerald**  
**M. Garahan**  
**Catherine Slane**  
**Eleanor A. Hore**  
**Ellen Fitzpatrick**  
**Mary E. Cleary**  
**Joanna M. Sheehy**  
**Lillian A. Murphy**

**Thomas P. Carroll**  
**Michael McNiff**  
**C. J. Dennehy**  
**John Fowler Ford**  
**G. O'Byrne**

**Miss Boyce**  
**Miss Monaghan**  
**Miss More O'Farrell**  
**Ellz. M. J. Anderson**  
**Agnes O'Farrelly**  
**Mary D. O'Kennedy**  
**Mary Pelly**  
**Miss Kennedy**  
**Miss Hitchcock**  
**Fournier D'Albe**  
**Annie Millar**  
**H. B. Widdis**  
**J. Butler**  
**H. Powell**  
**Jas. A. Caine**  
**Mary E. Byrne**  
**Patrick H. Pearse**  
**Joseph Harvie**  
**Wm. J. H. Loughrey**  
**Louis E. O'Dea**  
**Edward Dowling**  
**J. Rice**  
**D. A. Hackett**  
**Eldon Potter**  
**Jas. Horgan**  
**Michael Moore**  
**Francis Davis**  
**Jeremiah Hartigan**  
**Everard Digby**  
**Annie O'Reilly**

**1902.**

**R. Cunningham**  
**C. P. Daly**  
**J. Kelly**  
**Walter Mooney**  
**T. F. Rahilly**

H. G. M. Donnelly  
Peter O'Connell  
Patrick Keelan  
Patrick Ryan  
G. Tierney  
Edmund H. Flanigan  
E. B. Brooke  
P. P. Connolly  
W. J. Agnew  
Joseph Raymond Welply  
T. C. MacGowan  
Edward O'Reilly  
Wm. L. O'Reilly  
Richard Power  
James Neary  
L. J. Curtin  
H. J. Grant  
E. P. Harty  
P. J. O'Brien  
Jos. B. Barrett  
John P. O'Connor  
James K. Clarke  
Wm. D. O'Kelly  
F. J. MacMahon  
Michael McGing  
F. S. Dowling  
Alex Higgins  
Terence Doyle  
Jos. L. Walshe  
Thos. Randles  
John Gately  
J. P. J. McGivern  
John H. Hutchinson  
Gerald Beveridge  
C. W. Stenson  
Richard Charles

James J. Hanratty  
John McAsey  
Callaghan McCarthy  
H. P. Woodhouse  
Geo. Sheppard  
M. P. McEvoy  
Thos. Walshe  
D. R. Lloyd  
Daniel A. J. O'Brien  
Wm. Hetreed  
Joseph J. Carroll  
Eugene A. MacDermott  
J. J. Crampton  
Bernard F. Shields  
Martin Davidson  
Edward J. J. Grace  
Donal Gill  
Norman Chance  
Arthur Blake  
Samuel McElroy  
John C. Greenan  
James Levins  
Stanley G. Lyon  
Mrs. Donnelly  
Miss O'Brien  
Miss Cotter  
Miss B. Doheny  
Miss Costello  
Miss Nolan-Ferrall  
Miss Lynch  
Miss O'Callaghan  
Miss Monaghan  
Miss C. MacDermott  
Miss Laura Burke  
Miss Wall  
James Cassidy

**Patrick Kennedy**  
**Francis X. O'Brien**  
**Patrick Morris**  
**Edward Farrell**  
**James J. Headen**

**Wm. P. McKenna**  
**Miss Helena Butler**  
**Miss Maguire**  
**Michael Bourke**

**1903.**

**Jas. M. O'Reilly**  
**Thos. Rutledge**  
**Matt. J. McGrath**  
**Laurence Mulligan**  
**Philip Pye**  
**James Reddy**  
**Francis Collins**  
**Jos. Moran**  
**P. J. Little**  
**E. A. Mackey**  
**D. F. Murnaghan**  
**J. M. A. Gorman**  
**M. C. Burke**  
**Edward Kennedy**  
**Louis O'Farrell**  
**Francis C. O'Brien**  
**John Mulcahy**  
**Wm. Morris**  
**John Cullen**  
**Michl. J. O'Connor**  
**Timothy A. Mangan**  
**Maurice F. H. Kelly**  
**James McCormick**  
**Thomas Farley**  
**H. R. Cruise**  
**Jos. C. O'Doherty**  
**Patrick E. Carroll**  
**E. Cosgrove**  
**J. M. O'Connor**  
**Phillip B. J. Cosgrave**

**John J. McGrath**  
**Michl. Connell**  
**Thos. Newman**  
**Edmund Doherty**  
**James T. Brady**  
**Wm. F. Hooper**  
**Peter J. Keogh**  
**Wm. Lyons**  
**Henry P. Molony**  
**H. Hobson**  
**Peter Bannon**  
**W. F. Gill**  
**Maurice Nolan**  
**Nicholas Keating**  
**Louis J. E. McHugh**  
**George J. Farrelly**  
**Robert Burns**  
**Matthew Reilly**  
**Samuel McAlister**  
**Patk. J. Duffy**  
**John M. Clarke**  
**Robert Bond**  
**Edmund J. Mahony**  
**Cecilia Ryan**  
**Agnes Vance**  
**M. Alice Headen**  
**B. Danagher**  
**Mabel Pye**  
**Isabel Garahan**  
**Mrs. Brown**



— Gallagher  
 Charles Ronayne  
 Ludwig Dicke  
 Arthur J. Donnelly  
 Michael Cunningham  
 Wm. A. Frost  
 Bernard F. Neary  
 Thomas F. O'Donoghue  
 Mary E. Sheehy  
 B. Stafford  
 Mary Boardman  
 Alex. E. Donnelly  
 David J. Burke  
 J. G. Breakey  
 A. J. Binnie  
 Michael Flood  
 John J. O'Mahony  
 John A. McSweeney  
 Geo. J. Shirley  
 Simon Connolly  
 D. Meagher  
 James Glendon  
 H. Power  
 E. O'Loughlin

John Rorke  
 John Pat. Scanlan  
 Herbert Tierney  
 Laurence Doyle  
 Francis Hannigan  
 Ernest W. Kirwan  
 Robert Young  
 Chas. Walshe  
 George Nicolls  
 Patrick D. McCullen  
 Gerald R. O'Dowd

W. Garland  
 J. J. Lawlor  
 R. Simington  
 J. A. Baird  
 H. K. Purcell  
 Edmund V. Frost  
 Alfred J. Rahilly  
 Jeremiah M. Murphy  
 Wm. K. Keane  
 Thomas J. McDonnell  
 Joseph Hy. Patterson  
 Wm. P. Dundon  
 Wm. B. O'Connor  
 C. J. Murphy  
 P. Maguire  
 N. J. Healy  
 J. J. Webb  
 W. Malone  
 L. McAllister  
 G. Bauress  
 Miss Croly  
 Miss Matthews  
 Miss Brown  
 Miss C. Brown

1904.

Edmund Grimes  
 Jas. J. Bourke  
 W. Doulin  
 Stephen McSwiney  
 James Croly  
 Bernard Neary  
 J. O'Driscoll  
 P. J. Ryan  
 F. Cotter  
 Bernard Kelly  
 Peter Daly

**Henry L. Barnville**  
**George J. Jordan**  
**Steward A. Colhoun**  
**John C. Drislane**  
**Jeremiah B. Coffey**  
**Michael MacDonnell**  
**John M. Calvert**  
**Thomas Fitzgerald**  
**Wm. A. Malone**  
**W. H. O'Connor**  
**J. Doyle**  
**P. J. Walsh**  
**W. H. Redmond**  
**R. A. W. Ford**  
**Hugh A. Mullett**  
**Wm. Prendiville**  
**John Donoghue**  
**Wm. P. Flanagan**  
**F. Murray**  
**James Byrne**  
**Percy M. J. Brett**  
**Richard F. McManus**  
**John E. O'Sullivan**  
**Patrick J. O'Grady**  
**Fred. J. McCarthy**  
**J. J. Dennehy**  
**Denis J. Brennan**  
**Francis M. J. Byrne**  
**James J. Hanrahan**  
**Ed. J. O'Kelly**  
**Robert W. Parker**  
**Jas. Moore**  
**John V. Murphy**  
**Lily Dunne**  
**Helena Walshe**  
**Mary Bowler**

**Joseph Gilligan**  
**M. J. Moran**  
**J. O'Connor**  
**Charles W. Grant**  
**R. H. McCrea**  
**John Murray**  
**Jas. Gracey**  
**Jas. Porter**  
**W. Reid**  
**Alfred F. Moran**  
**Jos. H. Dixon**  
**Nessa Lyne**  
**Lily Carroll**  
**Agnes Hannigan**  
**Agnes O'Brien**  
**Katherine Burke**  
**Miss Molloy**  
**Nancy Gibbons**  
**Miss M. E. Browne**  
**Rev. J. O'Driscoll**  
**Rev. — Condon**  
**Daniel McGrath**  
**Miss Toher**  
**Miss MacSwiney**  
**Miss Headen**  
**Miss King**  
**Miss Curran**  
**Miss Kelly**  
**Rita A. Cotton**  
**Wm. M. A. Keane**  
**John Joy**  
**John J. MacSheahan**  
**Chas. Byrne**  
**Daniel J. Finn**  
**Edward Hackett**  
**John J. Richardson**

**Guilford G. Dudley**  
**James F. Walsh**  
**James J. Brady**  
**P. O'Toole**  
**Arthur Chas. Houlihan**  
**Miss Schwertz**  
**Miss Crowley**

**Miss Looney**  
**Miss Johnson**  
**Miss Casserley**  
**Miss King**  
**M. O'Sullivan**  
**Chas. Campbell**

1905.

**Vincent Aldan Cox**  
**Thomas Pat. Bodkin**  
**Hugh O'Neill**  
**Hugh T. S. McClintock**  
**Michael Moloney**  
**Chas. J. Macaulay**  
**Fitzherbert T. McKeon**  
**Cornelius J. Gregg**  
**Michael Christie**  
**Maurice Horan**  
**Peter Claude Furlong**  
**John M. Rowe**  
**C. R. Walsh**  
**Albert Woodcock**  
**Daniel O'Brien**  
**Thomas A. Byrne**  
**Pat. Caffrey**  
**Wm. P. Collins**  
**Michael McGilligan**  
**Joseph Brennan**  
**Thos. J. Kilbride**  
**Arthur Bodell**  
**Pat. McCaffrey**  
**James J. Kierans**  
**Kevin J. Mulderry**  
**Wm. H. Bodley**  
**J. A. Ronayne**  
**Gilbert J. Dowd**

**Edward Kerrigan**  
**Maurice Healy**  
**P. O'D. Burke-Gaffney**  
**Patrick P. Campbell**  
**John P. Shelley**  
**Gerald O'K. Sheridan**  
**James J. Doyle**  
**Thomas A. Smyth**  
**Wm. O'K. White**  
**Jeremiah J. O'Connell**  
**Thomas J. McCarthy**  
**Matthew J. Gilligan**  
**Redmond J. Naish**  
**Alfred H. J. Kennedy**  
**Albert Le Brocquy**  
**John F. Crowley**  
**Edward J. Cuddy**  
**J. Ingram**  
**Wm. Kirkpatrick**  
**Andrew M. Moynihan**  
**R. Feely**  
**Fred R. Gallagher**  
**Thomas McE. Coulter**  
**Thos. Reynolds**  
**Michael Jos. Fogarty**  
**Edward Kerrin**  
**Bernard Teeger**  
**Harry P. Hannigan**

Hugh McHugh  
Pat. J. Campbell  
James Stewart  
Daniel Higgins  
Patrick Loy  
Denis O'Carroll  
Patrick McCarten  
Fras. Jas. Burke  
Thos. A. Daly  
John Francis Roche  
John Stephenson  
Laurie McGrath  
Paul J. Dempsey  
Thos. Augustus Lipsett  
Patrick J. O'Connell  
Michael Doherty  
Pat. J. O'Dea  
John Archdeacon  
Louis A. Moran  
Roderic O'Connor  
J. E. Conaghan  
Matthew R. Dolan  
John O'Byrne  
Wm. Murphy  
Bertha O. White  
Helen Ryan  
Laurence M. F. Everard  
Tomas O Maille  
Alfred John Knowlden  
Thos. B. S. Kenny  
Madge A. Bowler  
Margaret Hutchinson  
Mary Clandillon  
Anna Stuart  
Mary Mulvihill  
Elly O'Mahony

George E. MacCarthy  
James Henebery  
J. B. Duggan  
E. P. Ryan  
SÉAMUS UA CASAIDÉ  
PADRAIG MAC SIOLLA  
Eiçne  
C. O'Beirne  
John Frewen  
E. S. Mills  
J. A. Taylor  
J. J. Nolan  
John Geo. McCarthy  
Joseph CARDEIBAC  
E. De Valera  
Gerald J. E. O'Byrne  
John J. Dowling  
Jos. P. Kenny  
M. Connolly  
Michael Burke  
Pat. Fox  
J. R. Duggan  
C. J. Elliott  
Annie McKeever  
Louis Velics  
M. T. Quinlan  
Patk. J. Leonard  
Basil Loughnan  
Edward F. Ryan  
Gerald M. Hickey  
Gerald Fitzgerald  
May Moylan  
Wm. Cooke  
Patk. Flaherty  
Thos. F. O'Connell  
Robert Henry Egar

**Thos. J. Tiernan**  
 — **McGrath**  
**Mrs. Townshend**  
**John Stafford Johnson**  
**Michael Fitzgerald**  
**Wm. Hickey**  
**James E. Walsh**  
**Wm. J. Thunder**  
**James O'Kelly**  
**Mary Davis**  
**S. O'Reilly**  
**Miss J. Redmond**  
**Rev. J. A. MacMahon, C.C.**  
**Miss Mary Thompson**  
**Michael J. Boyd**  
**Patrick Bradley**  
**Rev. Dr. Hogan**  
**Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J.**  
**A. J. Ryan**  
**Rev. A. Farrell, C.C.**  
**Thomas Murphy**

**James Lyons**  
**Pat. B. Scanlon**  
**Michael D. Staunton**  
**Henry J. Brayden**  
**Owen R. Forde**  
**Edmund B. Slattery**  
**John H. Breen**  
**E. Lucius Gwynn**  
**Dan. V. Mac Collum**  
**James E. Walshe**  
**Henry Kennedy**  
**Michael Jos. Kelly**  
**Thos. Arkins**  
**Thos. Marron**

**Alphonsus O'Farrelly**  
**G. A. Moonan**  
**P. O'Duffy**  
**Peter Curran**  
**Miss Kelly**  
**P. Kane**  
**Mary Byrne**  
**Miss Rita Cahill**  
**Thos. Rahilly**  
**Miss Mary Hayden**  
**Miss McNeill**  
**Mr. J. Bailey Butler**  
**Rev. P. Greenan**  
**Hugh Duffy**  
**Michael Burke**  
**Miss Donelan**  
**Miss M. Keane**  
**Mr. Usher**  
**Christopher Crozier Shaw**  
**Charles MacNeill**  
**Hugh MacNeill**

1906.

**John J. Doyle**  
**Francis Mulcahy**  
**Thos. F. Colfer**  
**Jos. P. M. Hackett**  
**Henry E. Kerley**  
**James Lafferty**  
**Joseph Rett**  
**Henry F. Moore**  
**Thos. J. Nolan**  
**Mich. Hayes**  
**Arthur Maguire**  
**Michael Power**  
**Walter Beatty**  
**Christopher Costello**

**John J. Redmond**  
**Nicholas T. Kelly**  
**Maurice F. O'Connell**  
**Patrick J. Mulhall**  
**Austin McBreen**  
**Aloysius D. MacMahon**  
**C. Furlong**  
**Michael F. Buckley**  
**Joseph D. Mulvey**  
**Jos. F. Thunder**  
**J. B. O'Riordan**  
**Martin J. Crotty**  
**Thos. Synnott**  
**Wm. O'Brien**  
**John Connor**  
**Joseph Prendiville**  
**John Kilbride**  
**Ambrose Steen**  
**Martin Sweeney**  
**Hugh O'Brien Moran**  
**Thos. P. Davy**  
**Patk. Jos. Webb**  
**John Edward Harford**  
**Patk. J. Corcoran**  
**Oriel J. O'Hanlon**  
**Philip Purcell**  
**Michael Maguire**  
**Joseph C. Denvir**  
**James O'Connor**  
**Daniel McSparren**  
**James Byrne**  
**Bernard Doyle**  
**Francis Peter McDermott**  
**Michael Jos. Gallagher**  
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**May Calnan**  
**Owen J. M. Kerrigan**  
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**Joseph Algar**  
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1908.

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Hugh Kelly  
Henry A. Johnston  
John Joseph A. Coyne  
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